



Bois potus  
W.B.

THE GOL-  
DEN BOKE OF  
MARCVS AVRE-  
lius Emperour and  
eloquent oras  
tour.



LONDINI.

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W. B. Goodad

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# THE TABLE



Of the byrth and linage  
of Marke Aurely An-  
thony emperour.

Cap. primo.

What maisters Marke  
Aurely hadde in hys  
youth. Cap. ii.

What sciences Marcus the emperour  
learned, and of a meruailous letter that  
he sent to Solon. Cap. iii.

How for þe wysdom of Marcus many  
wise men flourished in his tyme. Cap. iiii.

Of the emperour Marcus sonne na-  
med Verissimus. Cap. v.

What wise and auncient men Mar-  
cus chose to instruct his sonne. Cap. vi.

How it chaunced to fyue wise men,  
wherfore they were put out of the em-  
perours house. Cap. vii.

Howe the emperour reasoned with  
the maisters that shoulde learne hys  
sonne. Cap. viii.

How the maisters of princes ought  
to kepe them from vices. Cap. ix.

How the emperour Marcus nouris-  
shed the princesses his daughters. Ca. x.

How Marcus the emperour did chose  
and proued his sons in law. Cap. xi.

What



# THE TABLE.

**¶** What the emperor Marcus sayed to the father of a yong man, that wold marry one of his daughters. Cap. xii.

**¶** Howe a sonne in lawe ought to bee well examined, er he be accepted to his purpose. Cap. xiii.

**¶** How Marc the Emperour fauoured all noble exercises, and hated trewantes and sooles. Cap. xiiii.

**¶** Of the good conuersacion of this emperor Marcus Aurelius. Cap. xv.

**¶** Of the feast that the Romains kepte to the god Iano in Rome, and what chaunced to the sayd Emperour there. Cap. xvi.

**¶** How Marcus the emperor answered a senatour in the Senate. Cap. xvii.

**¶** How the Emperour Marcus dected the howres of the daye for the busynes of the empyre. Cap. xviii.

**¶** The answer of Marke thempersur whan Faust in his wife demaunded the key of his study. Cap. xix.

**¶** The emperor reherseth the perpls of them that haunt women excessively. Cap. xx.

**¶** Thempersours answer to Faustine for that she said, she was w child. ca. xxi.

**¶** How tydynges was brought to the

# THE TABLE.

- emperour, that the Mauritains wold  
conquere great Bytayne. Cap. xxi.
- W**hat the emperour saied to the of his  
court in escheewing idelnesse. Ca. xxii.
- O**f the peryllous liuyng of thei that  
haunt the court cōtinually. Ca. xxiii.
- H**ow the emperour wold haue theim  
of his courte to lyue. Cap. xxv.
- O**f a meruaylouse & a fearefull mon-  
ster that was sene in Sicile, and of his  
writynge. Cap. xxvi.
- W**hat befell to a cytesyn of Rome in  
the tyme of this emperour Marcus.  
Cap. xxvii.
- O**f a great pestilence that was in Ita-  
ly in this emperours tyme. Ca. xxviii.
- H**owe Marcus answered his philo-  
sophers that would haue him leaue his  
study. Cap. xxix.
- H**owe science ought to bee in pry-  
nces. Cap. xxx.
- W**hat a byllayne sayed to the Sena-  
tors of Rome in the ptesence of the  
emperour. Cap. xxxi.
- O**f diuerse other thynges that the byl-  
lain saied before the senate. cap. xxxii.
- H**owe the emperour desyred the welth  
of his people, and the people his  
wealthe. Cap. xxxiii.
- How

# THE TABLE.

Howe the emperour gaue Lucilla his  
daughter licence to sport hir at his  
palays. Cap. xxxiij.

What Marcus the mperoz said to a se-  
natoz, as touching triumphes. Ca. xxxv.

Of the great reproche that the empe-  
rour gaue to his wyfe Faustine and  
hir daughter. Cap. xxxvi.

How the emperoz counsayled Faustina  
to eschew yll occasions of hir dought-  
ter. Cap. xxxvii.

What thought Marcus the emperour  
tooke for the mariyng of his dought-  
ters. Cap. xxxviii.

Of a sickenes wherof the mperoz died, of  
his age, and where he died. Ca. xxxix.

The woordes of Panutius, secretarye  
to the Emperour, at the houre of his  
death. Cap. xl.

How the emperour demanded to haue  
in writyng al that the secretary had  
saied. Cap. xli.

The aunswere of the emperour to Pa-  
nutius. Cap. xlii.

What the emperour saide to the may-  
sters of his sonne, and to the rulers of  
the empyre. Cap. xliii.

How the emperour at the houre of his  
death, sent for his sonne, and decla-  
red

# THE TABLE

red to him, who shoulde gouerne the  
empire. Cap. xliiii.

What the emperor sayd to his sonne at  
the howze of his death. Cap. xlv.

Of other moze particular counsels gi-  
uen by the emperor to his son. Cap. xlv.

Of dyuers and particular recommen-  
dations, which the emperor coman-  
ded his sonne. Cap. xlvii.

Of the last woordes that the emperor  
spake to his sonne, and of the table  
that he gaue him. Cap. xlviii.

A letter sent by Marcus Aureli<sup>9</sup> to Vi-  
ram<sup>9</sup> his speciall frēd. The first letter.

A letter sente by Marcus the emperor  
to Cornelius, of the trauaile of warre  
and vanitie of triumph. The. ii. letter.

To Torcatus being at Baiette in conso-  
lation of his banishmēt. The. iii. letter.

A letter to Damitius of Capue to cōfozt  
him in his banishmēt. The. iiii. letter.

A letter sent fro the emperor to Clau-  
dius and Claudine his wife, because  
they beyng olde, lyued as yonge per-  
sones. The. v. letter.

A letter sent from Marcus the emperor  
to Labinia a Romain wydow for to  
comfozt hir for the death of hyr hus-  
bands. The. vi. letter.

# THE TABLE.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to  
Cincinatus his frende, bycause he be-  
png a gentilman, became a marchāt  
The. vii. letter.

A letter sente from Marke the emperour  
to Catulus Censorius, that was so-  
rowfull for the deathe of his sonne  
Clerissinus. The. viii. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to  
Marcurino, being at Denny, now cal-  
led Benavent. The. ix. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour, to  
Antigonus, comfortyng him in a so-  
rowfull case. The. x. letter.

An other letter sent by Marke the Em-  
perour to the same Antigonus against  
cruell iudges. The. xi. letter.

A letter sent by Marke to Lambert go-  
uernor of the Iles of Helespont, whan  
he dyd banishe the vacabundes from  
Rome. The. xii. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to  
Catulus his speciall freend, of the no-  
ueltees of Rome. The. xiii. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to the  
amorous ladies of Rome, bicause they  
made a play of him. The. xiiii. letter.

A letter sent by Marke the emperour to  
Boemia a louer of his, that woulde  
haue

THE TABLE.

hane gone with him to the warres.

The. xv. letter.

The aunswere to the emperours letter  
sent by Boemia. The. xvi. letter.

A letter sente by Marke theemperour to  
Matrine a younge mayden of Rome,  
of whom he was enamoured, seeyng  
hir at a window. The. xvii. letter.

An other letter sent by Marke the em-  
perour to the saied gentill womanne  
Matrine. The. xviii. letter.

A letter sente by Marke theemperour to  
Libia a faire lady Romaine.

The. xix. letter.

FINIS TABVLAE.

THE PROLOGVE.



**S** the time is  
 an inuenter of nouel  
 tees, and a regester  
 certayne of thynges  
 aunciente, and at the  
 ende, tyme gyuethe  
 ende to that suffereth  
 ende: The trewth all onely amonge  
 all thynges is priuiledged, In suche wile,  
 that whan the tyme seemeth to haue  
 broken hir wynges, than as immortall  
 she taketh hir force. There is nothyng  
 so entier, but it diminisheth, noz no-  
 thyng so hole, but that is wery: noz no-  
 thyng so strong, but that it breaketh: noz  
 nothyng so well kept, but that it cor-  
 rupteth. So all these thynges tyme ac-  
 cheueth and buryeth, but onely trouth,  
 the whiche (of the tyme, and of all  
 thynges that is in the time) tryumpheth.  
 Neyther to bee fauoured of the good,  
 noz to be persecuted of the yll, male bee,  
 but that sometyme trouth male be stop-  
 ped and hydde, but whan it is displea-  
 sed and wyll displease, than at the laste  
 shee cometh to a good porte, and taketh  
 lande. The frutes in the spryngyng  
 time haue not the vertue to geue suffe-  
 rance noz perfitte sweetenelle to satys-



# THE PROLOGVE.

fie the taste of them that eateth thereof:  
 but than passeth the season of sommer,  
 and harvest cometh, whiche time doth  
 better rype theym, and than that that  
 we dooe eate, doeth profite vs, the profe  
 thereof is right sauernesse, and gy-  
 ueth the more force and vertue, and  
 the greater is the taste. I wyl in these  
 firste wordes say, that in the firste ae-  
 ges men were more esteemed by theyr  
 meeke customes and delicatenes, than  
 they were after reprovued by their grosse  
 and rude vnderstandynges. Certaynly  
 some of the aunciente philosophiers,  
 I speake of the moste aunciente, as  
 well Caldees as Greekes, who firste  
 lyfted them selves to regarde the ster-  
 res of the heauen, and surmounted the  
 highe mounte of Olympius, there to  
 contemplate and regarde the influen-  
 ces of the planettes in the heuen: I dare  
 well saye, that they haue rather meri-  
 ted pardon by theyr ignorance, than  
 praysyng or grace by their wysedome.  
 These were the firste that woulde serch  
 the trouthe of the elementes of the he-  
 uen, and yet they were the firste that  
 dyd solue errors in thynges natural  
 of the earthe. Homere in hys Illiade  
 saied

# THE PROLOGVE.

fawde these woordes in speakyng of phi-  
 losophers: I prayse nothing the know-  
 lage of mine ancesters, but I can them  
 greatte thanke and prayse, in that they  
 desyred knowlage. This was well  
 sayd of Homer. For if amonge the aun-  
 cient men had not reigned suche igno-  
 raunce, there had not bene so many se-  
 ctes of parcialitees in euery schole. He  
 that hath redde the aunciente antiqui-  
 ties of the philosophers, shall not deny  
 me the presumption of the knowlage,  
 and ignoraunce of that they desyred to  
 knowe, the whiche is chiefe cause that  
 science is not all one. Ther is greatte  
 nombze of parcialitees, Ciniens, Sta-  
 toniens, Peripaticiens, Academicns,  
 and Epicuriens, who were as contrary  
 in their opinions, as diuers in their na-  
 turalitees. I wyll not that my penne  
 bee so dismeasured to reprove so muche  
 the aunciente men, that the glozie all  
 onely shoulde abyde with them that be  
 presente. Truly if he meryte guerdon  
 and prayse, that sheweth me the waye,  
 whereby I thinke to passe, yet no lesse  
 meryteth he, that sheweth and aduys-  
 seth me of the waye, whereby I maye  
 sayle, The ignoraunce of the aunciente

But

men

# THE PROLOGVE.

men hath bene but as a gypde to aduise  
and aduertise all other, and because  
they erred, wee haue founde sith the  
waie, to theyr great pzeise, and to  
our great shame. I saie, that if wee  
that be nowe presente had beene than,  
we had knowen lesse then they dydde.  
And if they that were than were nowe  
at this howe, they should surmount vs  
in knowlage. And that this is trewe it  
appereth well. For the auncient sages,  
with their diligence to knowe the trouth  
by theyr close & ferme made the waies:  
But wee by our slouth folowe not the  
open waies. Than to the purpose that  
I will saie. we that be nowe present, can  
not complayne of them that haue bene,  
but that the trouth (the whiche accor-  
ding to Aul. gel. is daughter of the time)  
in this tyme of the worlde declareth to  
vs the errours, that wee ought to flee,  
and the trouth of the doctryne that we  
ought to folowe. But as nowe the hu-  
mayne malice is so expert, and the vn-  
derstandynge of mortall men is so dull,  
that in tyme of neede, in goodnesse of  
wit we fayle, & in all ill we knowe more  
than we ought to knowe. In such wyse  
that some with one parte of the more,  
and

# THE PROLOGVE.

and some with lesse, all presume to wynn  
the game. And though this be true, yet  
it is but a small thyng to that we abide  
for: There is so much that we ought to  
knowe. For the moste that we know is  
the leasste parte of that we be ignorant  
of, as the thynges natural, accordyng to  
the variety of the tyme, like maner doth  
the operations of the elemētes. In sem-  
blable wyse in thynges mortall, as the  
ages hath succeded, so are discovered  
the sciences. For certayne all the frutes  
cometh not together. Whan one faileth  
an other begynneth to enter in season  
I will saie, that neyther all doctours a-  
monge christen men, nor all the philoso-  
phers amonge the gentyles were con-  
current in one tyme, but after the death  
of one good, an other came better. The  
high and supreme wysedome, the whi-  
che all meane thynges gouernethe by  
Iustice, and departeth it accordyng  
to his bountee, will not that at one time  
the worlde shulde want or bee destitute  
of sage men, nor at an other tyme want  
of symple personnes: some desyringe  
the fruite, and some the leaues. In  
suche sorte that they shoulde haue en-  
uye of that other were impeached.

## THE PROLOGVE.

This aunciente worlde that ranne in Saturnus daies, the which other wyse was called the Golden worlde, the whiche was so esteemed of theim that sawe it, and so muche praysed of theim that herde the wytyng thereof, and so muche despyred of theim that felte no parte thereof, was not golde by the sages that dyd gylte it: but because that there was none yll that did vngylte it. This our age now is of yron: yet it is not called of yron, for faute of sages, but bycause the maliciouse people surmounte. I confesse one thyng, and I thynke I shall haue many wyll fauoure me in the same, that there was neuer in the worlde so muche people teachyng vertue, and so fewe folowynge the same. Aul. Gelle saith in his booke, that the auncient sages were holden in reputation, bycause there were fewe teachers and many lerners: and at this houre it is contrary, there bee but fewe learners, and many teachers. The small esteeme that the sages bee in at this tyme, maie bee seene by greatte veneration that the philosophers were holden in as than, the whiche thyng was true: Homer among the Grekes,  
Salas

## THE PROLOGVE.

Salomon amonge the Hebrewes, Ly-  
gurge amonge the Lacedemoniens, Li-  
nie amonge the Romaynes, Cicero a-  
monge the Latines, Apolonius Thia-  
neus amonge all the barbarike naci-  
ons. I desire to haue bene in all these  
ages, whan the worlde was so riche of  
sage personnes, and so poore of symple  
persons, whan they assembled oute of  
ferre countreys, and of dyuers real-  
mes and straunge nations: not al one-  
lie to haue herde their doctrines, but  
also to haue sene their persons. I thinke  
I am not begyled in the Histories. For  
whan Rome in his moste prosperitee,  
was highest in triumphe, Titus Liui-  
us doeth wryte in his histories, and the  
glorouse sayncte Hierome affyrmeth it  
in the prologue of the Wyble, that moe  
people came to Rome to se the eloquen-  
ces of the bokes, moze than to ioy anye  
Romaine triumphe. Whan Olimpias  
was delyuered of hir childe the greate  
Alexander, Philip hir husbande, and  
father to the yonge childe, wrote a let-  
ter to Aristotle, wherin he saied: I geue  
great graces to the goddis, not all one-  
lie that they haue gyuen vnto me a  
sonne, but bycause they haue giuen him

# THE PROLOGVE.

to me in the tyme that thou maiest bee  
his maister, and be thy disciple. Marc  
Aurelie the emperour, of whom this  
present booke intreateth, he speakynge  
of him selfe wrote to Dolion these woꝝ-  
des: frende I wyll thou know, that I  
am not made emperour by reason of  
the bloud of my predecestours, noꝝ yet  
foꝝ the fauour of my lynage nowe pre-  
sente, but it was because I haue beene  
alwaies a freende and louer of the sage  
people, and enemy to them that haue no  
good knowlage. Ryght happye was  
Rome to choose so valiant an emperour,  
and right fortunate was that emperour  
to come to suche an empire, not by pa-  
trimonie, but by sagesnes. And if that  
age was gloriouse in ioyinge of his per-  
sone, no lesse it is to vs to ioye of his do-  
ctrines. I wyll intitule this booke the  
Golden boke. It may bee called golden,  
bycause in so high estimation it holdeth  
the vertuouse, discouerynge in theyꝝ  
time this booke with the sentences, as  
these princes holdeth their mynes of  
golde in theiꝝ Indees. But I saye that  
at this houre there bee moo hertes  
banished into the Indees of golde,  
thanne to emploie theym to rede the  
woꝝ-

# THE PROLOGVE.

woorkes of this boke. Saluste salety,  
that there ought great glorie bee geuen  
to theim that haue doone veray hygh  
and great actes: And that there ought  
no lesse fame and renowne be geuen to  
those that in a good stile haue wrytten  
theym. In this case I confesse to des  
serue no merytes for my traduction or  
any fame: but I demaunde pardon of  
all theim that bee sage, for the fautes  
that they shall fynde therin. For except  
the diuine letters, there is nothyng so  
well wrytten, but that there maie bee  
founde necessitee of correction, line, and  
sensure. This seemed to be true, by that  
Socrates was repproued of Plato, and  
Plato of Aristotle, Aristotle of Aen-  
rur, Scilio of Sulpice, Tely of Varro,  
Marinus of Tome, Enio of Horace,  
Senec of Aule Gele, Estratocles of  
Strabo, Telato of Balene, Harma-  
goze of Cicero, Origen of saint Je-  
rome, saint Jeroni of Ruffin, and  
Ruffin of Donate: Sythe that in  
theim and in their woorkes there hathe  
beene correction, who were menne of  
highe knowlage, it is no reason that  
I shoulde bee in their fraternitee, see-  
yng that I knowe so little as I dooe, to  
the



## THE PROLOGVE.

the examination of wyse and vertuous men. To theim I submit this presente worke, and to theym that haue bene suche, I them require to be contente to be the reders, and not iudges therof.

It were no pacience to suffre, nor law to permitte, that a thyng that a sage personne with greates maturitee and deliberation hath wrytten, to bee disprayed by a symple persone. For ones readynge, oftentymes the auctoures and wryters are disprayed, not of them that canue traduce and compose workes: but of theym that can not vnderstande theym, and yet lesse reade them. I save further of aduantage, that dyuers haue wrytten of the tyme of the sayde Marke Aurelio Emperour, as Herodian wrote lyttell, Eutropio lesse, Lampzidio yet lesse, Iulius Capitolin somewhat more. The wrytynges of theym, and of other seemeth rather epitomes, than histories. There is difference betwene this wrytynge, and that they wrote by hering say: but they, by whome I haue composed this present worke, they were witnesse by sight, and not by hearyng of other, but they wiste what they saw theim selfe:

That

## THE PROLOGVE.

That is to saie, amonge the maisters,  
 who learned the sayde emperour theyr  
 sciences, there were three, that is to say,  
 Iunio Rustico, Cina Catule, and Ser-  
 to Cheronense, neuewe to the greatte  
 Plutarcke. These bene they that haue  
 writte this present historie. Ser to Che-  
 ronense in greke, and the other two in  
 latine. I thynke of this historie is but  
 small notice, bycause vnto this howre  
 it hath not be seene imprinted. Whan  
 I departed from the colledge of my stu-  
 dy, and went to preache in the palaies,  
 where I saue so many newe noueltees  
 in the courtes, I deliuered my selfe  
 with greatte desyre to knowe thyn-  
 ges, and gaue my selfe to searche and  
 knowe thynge auncient. And the case  
 fortunèd on a daie, readyng an historie,  
 I founde therein matter to be noted in  
 a pistell, and it seemed to me so good,  
 that I put all mine humayne forces to  
 serche farther. and after in reuoluyng  
 diuers booke, serchyng in dyuers libra-  
 ries, and also speakyng with diuers la-  
 ges of diuers realmes, finally I founde  
 this treatise in Florence, among the bo-  
 kes left there by Cosme de Medici, a  
 man of good memory. I haue used in  
this

## THE PROLOGVE.

this wyrtynge, the whiche is humaine,  
that that dyuers tymes hath bene bled  
in diuinitie, that is to reduce, not wordes  
for word, but sentence for sentence, We  
other interpretours are not bounde to  
geue for the meane the wordes, it suffi-  
ceth to geue for the weight the sentence:  
As the historiographers, of whom there  
were dyuers, and the history that they  
made was all but one thyng, I wil not  
deny, but I haue leste out some wordes,  
whiche were not mete, nor well sittynge,  
rude, & least of valure, and I haue med-  
led it with other more swete and profi-  
table. I thynke that euery wise man af-  
ter he hath read this booke, will not saie  
that I am the pryncipall auctour of this  
worke, nor yet to iudge me so ignorant  
to exclude me cleane from it, for so high  
sentences are not founde at this present  
time, nor to so high a stile they of tyme  
past neuer attayned.

¶ Here endeth the  
Prologue.

Here

A V R E L I V S.

**H**ere begynneth the booke of the life  
of the noble and eloquent Marke  
Aurely emperor.

**O**f the byrth and linage of Marke Au-  
rele Antony emperor. Cap. primo.



**I**n the yere  
of the foundation of  
Rome. vi. C. xcv. in  
the Olimpiade. C.  
lxiii. Anthony the  
meke, beyng deade,  
than cōsules Fulvie  
Caton, & Gnee Patrocle in the high capi-  
toll, the. iiii. daye of October, at the de-  
mande of all the people Romayne, and  
cōsente of the sacred Senate, was de-  
clared for emperor vniuersall of all the  
monarchie of Rome, Marke Aurely An-  
thony. This excellent baron was na-  
turally of Rome borne in the mount Ce-  
lie. And accordyng as Julius Capitolin  
saith, he was borne the. vi. kalendes of  
Maie, the whiche accordinge to the ac-  
counte of the latyns was the. xvi.  
daie of the moneth of Apryll passed.  
His father was named Anio Vero,  
For

# MARCVS

For the occasion whereof, the histories diuers tymes call hym Marke Anthony Nero. True it is, that Adriane the emperor called him Nerissimus, by cause in him was neuer founde no lies, nor neuer fayled the trowth. These Anius Neres was a lignage, that auanted them to bee descended of Ruma Pompilio, and of Quintus Curtius the famous Romayn: which for to deliuer the towne of Rome from peryll, and to geue his persone perpetuall memorie, of his owne good free will he yelded hym selfe to the same borage, that as than was seene in Rome. The mother of this Emperour was called Domiciade, as Cyne historien recounteth in the bookes of the lynages of Rome. The Camilles were personnes in that tyme greatly esteemed, bycause they were accompted to be descended of Camille the famousse and aunciente capitayne Romayne, whiche deliuered Rome from the Gaulles, that hadde wonne it. The men that descended of that lynage were called Camilli, for the remembraunce of Camille, and the women were lyke wyse called Camilles, in the remembrance of a daughter

AVRELIVS.

ter of the sayde Camille, that was called Camillia.

¶ There was an auncient lawe, that all Romaines should haue a particular priuilege in the same place, where their predecessours had doen so the Romaine people any greate seruice. For this aunciente custome they had priuilege, so that all they of the lygnage of Camille, were kepte and maynteyned in the high capitoll. And though the varietee of the time, the multitude of tyrantes, the ebuliction and mouting of ciuill warres were cause of the diminishinge of the auncient Policie of Rome, and introduced in maner a lyfe not very good: yet for all that we rede not, that the preeminences of the Romaines were broken, but if it were in the tyme of Sylla, whan he made the vniuersall proscription agaynst the Marians. After the deathe of this cruell Sylla, in exaltynge of hym selfe, Julius Caesar the pitifull, made dictator of Rome, and chiefe of the Marians, adnulled and vndidde all that Sylla had made, and brought agayne into the aunciente estate the common wealth.

What

M A R C V S.

**¶** What hath bene the condicions, the estate, pouertee, richesse, fauour, or disfauour of the ancestours of this Marke Aurelye Emperours, we fynde not in the aunciente hystories, and yet it hath bene diligently serched for. The auncient Romaine historiens were not accustomed to wypte the lyues of the Emperours fathers, namely whan they be made monarches, but the merytes and graces that theyr chyldren had, as for the auctorites that they had inherytyng theyr fathers. Trough it is, as saith Julius Capitollin, the father of Marke Aurelye theemperour, had bene pretour in exercises, and capytayne in the frontiers, in the tyme of Traian the good, and Adryane the wyse, and Anthonye the mecke emperours. This is confirmed by that the same Marc Aurelye wrot (beyng at Rhodes) to a freende of his called Polion, that was at Rome, sayng thus: Many thinges haue I felt & knowen frend Polion, by the absence of Rome, namely of that I see my selfe here alone in this yle: but as vertue maketh a stranger naturall, and vice turneth naturall to a straunger: and as I haue bene .x. yeres here at Rhodes to  
redg

AVRELIVS.

reade philosophie, I thereby repute my  
selfe as naturall of this lande, and that  
hath caused me to forget the pleasures  
of Rome, and it hath lerned me the ma-  
ners of the yle. And here I haue founde  
many of my fathers frendes. Here was  
capitayne agaynst the Barbariens. to  
my lorde Adrian, Anthony my father  
in lawe, the space of. xlv. yeres. I lette  
thee to witte, that the Rodian people  
are curteis, and full of good graces. I  
wolde haue reade philosophie as longe  
as my father had beene at Rhodes in  
warre, but I may not: for Adrian my  
lorde commaundeth me to go and kepe  
residence at Rome, howe be it euery mā  
reioyseth to see his naturall countrey.

¶ So by the wordes of thys letter it is  
to be beleued, that Anio Wero, father to  
this emperour Marke, hadde applied  
the moste parte of hys lyfe in warre. It  
was not the custome lyghtly to truste a  
persone, to haue the office of a gouer-  
nour on the frontiers, wythout he had  
bene wel exercised in the seates of war.  
And as all the glory of the Romaines  
was to leaue after theym good renowne  
me, the sayde Marke certaynelie was  
taken for the moste vertuouse, and  
had



# M A R C V S

hadde greatest freendes in the Senate,  
whereby he trusted on the conqueste of  
the moste cruell enemies: accordynge  
as the sayde Serto Theronense histori-  
en sayeth. The Romaynes all though  
they hadde in their handes moste peril-  
lous warres, yet they hadde in foure  
partes of the empire stronge and entier  
garrisons. That is to saye, in Bizance,  
the whiche is now Constantinople, by  
reason of them of the oriente: And En-  
gades, the whiche now is called Cas-  
tir a citee of Spayne, for loue of theym  
of the weste: In the riuer of Rhodano,  
whiche is now the ryuer of Rhyne, for  
the Germaines: And in Collosse, which  
nowe is called the Rhodes, By cause  
of the Barbariens. In the kalendes of  
Januarie, whan the senate deuised  
the offices, beyng pourueyed of a dic-  
tatur, and of two consules perely, In-  
continente in the thirde place they pro-  
vided for foure moste excellent barons  
to defende the said foure frontiers: The  
which semeth to be true, for the most fa-  
mouse and renowned barons in they  
yonge daies were capitaines in the said  
frontiers: The greate Pompeius was  
sente to the Bizances Constantinople

# AVRELIVS.

The worthy Scipio was sente to the Colloſſences and Rodians: And the courageous Julius Caesar, was sente to the Baditaines of Calix of Spayn: and the stronge esteemed Marcus was sent to them of the ryuer of Wyne. This we say because that Anio Vero father to Marc Aurelie emperor, had bene pro- uost and pretour in the offices, and one of the capitaines of the Frontiers, whiche ought to be in Rome one of the persons most esteemed.

¶ What maisters Marke Aurely had in hys youth. Cap. ii.



I haue not by any autentike histories, from whens, whā, or how, in what maner or in what exercises or with what persons, or in what land was spent and consumed the most part of the life of this good Emperour. But to be short, Julius Capitoline saith, that he had bene xiii. yere vnder the commaundement of Adrian the Emperour. Howe be it contrary wyle is founde by other historians, accordyng as saith Serto Cherouense in his history. It was not the

custome of the Romaines cronyclers,  
 to write the thinges done by these prin-  
 ces before they were prynces, but onely  
 of yong people, being in their yong age,  
 hauinge great and high magnificence,  
 and dooyng great enterpryses. This  
 seemeth to bee of trouthe, for Sueton  
 Tranquill recounteth largely the feare-  
 full deedes and enterpryses doone by  
 Caius Iul. Caesar in his yonge age, to  
 shewe to prynces to come, howe it was  
 a great ambycion, that they had to at-  
 tayne to the monarchy, and but of small  
 witte and maturites to kepe them selfe  
 therein. It is no newe thyng, that men  
 gape for high and frayle thynges. And  
 the more higher the magnificence is,  
 the more lower they feele fortune. And  
 whan they were dyligent to accomplish  
 theyr desyre, as much thought had they  
 to conserue their quietnesse and rest. In  
 case than that Anio Vero, father to  
 Marke the Emperour, folowed the ex-  
 ercise of warres, yet he putte his sonne  
 in the waie to learne science. For there  
 was a lawe sore vsed and accus-  
 med, and well kepte in the Romaine  
 policie, that euerye sitelins sonnes,  
 that enioyed the libertee of Rome,  
 and

A V R E L I V S.

and had accomplished .x. yerres, shoulde not be suffered to goe by the stretes as vacabundes. Nor it shoulde not be suffered by the Censure, who gouerned Rome, and dayly tooke hede to the forsaytes done therin, to suffice a childe no lenger than .x. yerres of his age to play the childe. But fro thense forth the father of the childe shoulde be bounde to nourish him out of the circuite of Rome, or to lay a pledge, that his sonne should dooe no foltes. When Rome triumphed, and by theyr policie gouerned all the worlde, it was certaynlye a meruoylous and monstrolis thyng to see it than, and no lesse fearefull vnto vs now to here thereof. There was at that tyme in Rome. iiii. hundzed thousand inhabitauntes, amonge whom there was ii. hundzed. M. yonge people, that were retrained and brydled from theyr yong pleasures. The son of Cato was chastised, because he was wilfull and presumptuous. And also the brother of good Syna was banysed, bycause he went ydelly as a vacabunde. Without that Cicero begyleth vs in his bookes of the Romaine lawes, no romaine ought to traie abzod; in the stretes of Rome, but

# M A R C V S

If he bare in his hande the signe or token  
 of the office, whereby he liued. To then-  
 tente that euery man shoulde knowe,  
 that he lyued by his trauaple, and not  
 by the sweate of other men. This lawe  
 was kepte of euery personne. The em-  
 perour had boorne before him a bren-  
 nyng viande: The consulle an axe of  
 armes, the priestes haue in maner of a  
 copse: the Denateurs a tongue in ma-  
 nier of a crucible on their armes, the  
 Censure a littell table, the Tribunes a  
 mace, the centurions a signe or baner,  
 the oratours a booke, the gladiatours a  
 swerde, the tayllours sheres, the Smy-  
 thes a hammer, and in lyke wyse of all  
 the other offices and craftes. Wee may  
 knowe than by this that is saied, that  
 after that Marke Aurelye was borne  
 at Rome, his father in his youth had  
 taught him good nurture. And thoughe  
 it so were, that the begynnyng of hys  
 yonge age shoulde be hid from vs, at  
 the least we are certaine, that the mid-  
 del age and ende of him was right glo-  
 rious. His father Anio Vero wold that  
 his son Marcus Aurelius should leaue  
 seates of armes, and solow study. And  
 surely it is to be thought, that it was  
 done

done more by the valiantnes of the fa-  
ther than the cowardnesse of the sonne,  
excepte the dedes of them that be dead,  
begyle vs that be a lyue, and the cause  
iudged by cleare vnderstandynge, and  
that wee fynde mo sentences of dyuers  
sadde personnes, that there hath beene  
but fewe that bene losse by writynge  
and learnynge, ye and a greate meiny  
fewer that haue had aduantage by ar-  
mes. Reuolue all booke, and serche  
through all realmes, and finallye they  
shew vs, that very fewe in their real-  
mes, haue bene happy in armes, but  
there haue bene many famous and re-  
nowned by scripture and lerning. Take  
here example, and se if it be true or not  
that I say. Had the Affricens moe than  
one kyng, that was Nin<sup>o</sup>, one Ligurges  
amonge the Lacedemonians, the Egip-  
tians one Ptholome, the Hebrewes one  
Machabee, the Grekes one Hercules,  
the Macedoniens one Alexander, the  
Epirotiens one Pyrhe, one Anniball  
the Carthaginens, and one Julius Ce-  
sar amonge the Romaynes: It is not  
thus of lerned men: for if the Grekes  
had one Homer, no lesse the Grekes  
vaunteth them of the. vii. sages, whome

# M A R C V S

were beleue more in theyr philosophie,  
 than Homer in the warres of Troy.  
 For as difficile it is to fynde a trouthe  
 in Homer, as a lie in these sages. Sem-  
 blable the Romaynes had not onely  
 Cicero as right eloquent, but also they  
 had Saluste, Lucan, Titus Lylius,  
 with a greate company of noble men,  
 and wel approued, who haue left right  
 great credence in their scriptures in the  
 sayng of trouthe. What lost Cicero in  
 the senate for pynge of inuectiues: And  
 as we say of so small a nombre of Gre-  
 kes and latyns, wee may saye of the  
 Affiriens, Persians, Medes, Argues,  
 Acapens, Veniens, Frenchemen, Wy-  
 tons, Englyshmen, and Spaniards,  
 All the whiche nations withoute com-  
 paryson haue of theym selfe leste more  
 memorie, and haue honoured their lan-  
 des and countreys more by wytyng,  
 than they that haue leste sygnes by ar-  
 mes. Than let vs leaue these strange  
 histories, and retourne to the vythe of  
 our Emperour Marcus Aurelius, as  
 Eutrope recounteth. Accordyng as this  
 excellent baron learned diuers sciences,  
 so he had diuers maisters to teache him.  
 He studied grammer wyth a mayster  
 named

named Euphorion, musike with another named Semirao Comode, eloquence with Alexander a Breke, in naturall philosophie he had to hys mapsters Comode Calcedonien, an auncient baron, whiche expounded to him Homer: and Serto Cheronense newe to the greate Plutarke. Also he studied in the lawes, and Volusio Meciano was his mapster. This Emperour esteemed to haue the knowlage of payntyng, and to graue in wodde and mettall, in earthe, and other sculptures, in whiche art his maister was Diogenito, in his time a famous and renowned paynter. He strauyled also to knowe, and serche what extended to the acte of Nychromancy. By occasion whereof he wente openly to here Apolonio. And to the intent that there should be nothyng vnlearned of him, he aboue all sciences set his minde to Cosmography, in the which for his maister, he tooke Junio Rustico, that sith wrote his lyfe, and Lina Catule, the which wrot of his death, and the life of Comode his sonne. Of these noble and excellent barons, that flourysshed in those dayes, he was taughte in vertues and sciences. Cicero



# M A R C V S

lamenteth the ancient policie of Rome,  
because that he sawe greate losse in the  
common welth than present, sayng in  
his Rhetorik, that the ancient Romay-  
nes had alway regarde to that parte,  
where they thought mosse damage and  
perill should growe. There were .v.  
thynges amonge all other in Rome,  
wherunto they hadde ever a biglyants  
respecke, the whiche the Senate needed  
not to care for, nor no law dispensed for  
they in: and these bene they, the priestes  
were honest, and the virgins Vestales,  
right chaste, the penalties ryghte iuste,  
the capitaynes full valiant: They that  
taught yonge children were vertuose.  
It was not permitted in Rome, that he  
that was a maister in sciences, should be  
disciple of vices.

What sciences Marcus the emperour  
learned. And of a meruapulous letter  
that he sent to Polion. Cap. iii.



Philostate sayeth, that it  
was demaunded of Polio-  
on, who was the ryche-  
man of the worlde: He an-  
swered, it was he that had  
most

AVRELIVS.

most wisdomē. He was demaunded  
agayne, who was most poore: He an-  
swered, he that had leaste witte. Of  
trouth it was a worthy sentence of such  
a person. The effecte therof, we se dayly  
by experience, the wyse slidynge in dy-  
uers chaunces of fortune, reveleth hym  
selfe. The un witty personne in very  
small thynges touchynge his luyngē,  
not greatly decayed, falleth downe.  
There is nothyng that is so losse, but  
that there is hope of recoueryng, if it be  
in the handes of a wyse man. And con-  
trary wise, there is nothyng so assured,  
but the recouerance thereof ought to be  
feared, if a foole haue the guidynge ther-  
of. It was aied of Xenophon the phi-  
losopher, whether he hadde rather to  
be foolyshe and a greate lord, or to bee  
wise and poore. He answered and sayd,  
I haue pittie of a riche foole, and I haue  
enuy of a wyse man waken poore. For  
if a wyse man haue but one foote, yet  
will he ryse and keepe him selfe from  
fallynge: And if you giue an abbaye  
to a foole, yf by fortune he falle, he  
wyll neuer releue agayne. Ye may  
thynke that the father that dieth, and  
leaueth hys sonne poore and wyse,  
that

M A R C V S.

that he leaueth to him muche: And he  
that leaueth his sonne riche and folishe,  
I thinke he hath leste hym nothyng,  
these thynges consydered, Anio Nero,  
father of the emperour, as a father that  
loued his sonne hertilye, was not con-  
tent, to delpuer one mayster to his son,  
to make him vertuouse, and to learne  
one science, wherewith he myght oc-  
cupie his vnderstandyng, but he gaue  
him many maysters, that refrayned  
him from vyces, and commaunded,  
that he shoulde learne many sciences,  
to thentent that he shoulde be the more  
bysily exercised. Whan and how muche  
he trauayled to learne, and what scien-  
ces, and with whom, and with what  
will he learned, and what he knewe,  
he wrote hym selfe beyng at Agrippyne,  
now called Colepyne, to a freende of his  
named Polion, as it foloweth.

A freende Polion, thou meruayleth,  
why that I leaue not to learne newe  
thynges at the ende of my dayes. He  
that hath but one meate to eate, and  
can not eate therof, he leaueth it, and  
peraduenture it was holosome for him,  
and eateth other thynges, that he seeth,  
whiche maie be hurtfull to him. It

AVRELIVS.

is a great magnificynce to a man, to  
haue dyuers sortes of meates: for if he  
haue no luste to one, that is good for  
hym, he maie take of an other, that is  
better. Be that is wise, maie vnder-  
stand me, without any more declaring.  
As in all artes, a man is contente at the  
laste: so at the laste, bee they neuer so  
swete, they turne to a werines. Be that  
knoweth but one science, though he bee  
wise, yet he renneth in great daungier.  
For beyng annoyed therewith, he will  
occupy his life in other hurtful thynges.  
The noble and worthy personnes, that  
dyd caste slouth away from theim, haue  
lest of theim eternall memorie, not  
wyllyng to learne alonely one science,  
to attempre theyr vnderstanding with,  
but also trauayled, to learne dyuers o-  
ther, wherewith they sharped theyr wits-  
tes, to the entent that they shoulde not  
be dulled and made blunt. In all natu-  
rall thinges, nature is with right little  
content, but the spryte and vnderstand-  
ynge is not satisfied with many thyng-  
ges. & sith that vnderstanding is of suche  
condicio, that it is lost by liberty, and is  
lightly encombred, with subtiltee it per-  
seth, with quickenes it knoweth, & with  
ignorance

ignorance it wasteth: it is necessary, by  
 time to remount to very high thynges,  
 lest it bow vnto lowe and ill thynges.  
 All corporall domages, that chaunce to  
 mortall men, are by medicines healed,  
 or by reason remedied, or by length of  
 time cured, or els by death ended: The  
 onely vnderstandyng, which is dusked  
 in errours, & deptraued in malices, can  
 not be healed by medicines, nor redress-  
 sed by reason, nor holpe by counsell. The  
 auncient Philosophiers, in the sayde  
 happy golden worlde, and golden age,  
 did not al only lerne one thing, wherby  
 they might susteyne their lyfe, and en-  
 crease good fame: But they trauayled,  
 to knowe all that was to bee knowen,  
 and yet euer sought to know more.

¶ In the .lxxv. of the Olimpiade, as  
 dyuers personnes were assembled in  
 the high mountayne Olympius, to ce-  
 lebrate the playes, by fortune thither  
 came a philosopher of Thebes, whiche  
 had made ali that euer he brought with  
 him. He made his shoues, his cote, and  
 sowed his sherte, and had wrytten hys  
 bookes, and so of al other thinges. They  
 that were there assembled, were aba-  
 shed, and meruayled greatly, that one  
 man

AVRELIVS.

man coulde do it. He was diuers tymes asked, wher he lerned so many thinges. And he answered and sayd: The slouth of man is the cause, that one arte is diuided into diuers artes. For he that knoweth all artes together, muste needes know one alone. Thys phylosopher answered highly. And surely they that hearde hym, ought to haue bene as greatly ashamed of his wordes, as the philosopher was of the bayneglorie of his apparell. Let euery man remember hym selfe, and let no man blamie the shortnesse of the tyme, nor wekenesse of our nature. For there is nothyng so harde, but it is made softe: nor so hygh, but it may be raught: nor kept so close, but it may be sene: nor so subtile, but it may be felt: nor so darke, but it may be lighted: nor so profounde, but it may be discouered: nor so disseuered, but it may be gathered together: nor so losse, but it may be founde: nor so impossible, but it may bee conserued, if with all our hertes; we occupie our powers in good exercises, and apply our vnderstanding in high thynges. I deny not, but our nature is littell worthe: But I knowe well, that lesse worthe is our slouthfulnessesse

# MARCVS

fulnes, I woulde demaunde of euill men, the which pray vs to be good, and areth counsell of vs, for they sensualitee, saipnge, that they be weake and frayle, although they haue vnderstanding to inuent euils, and haue strength inough, to putte them in effectte, and to perseuer therein, they neuer lacke constance. The cause is, we call it naturall, for to doo and commytte byces and miseries. And slouth in vertue, wee call straunge and weake, bycause of the workes.

¶ Let no man blame our nature, for beinge weake and saynt: no: late against the goddess that they be cruell: for wee haue no lesse ablenes to doe well, than redinesse to dooe yll. Lette none say, I woulde, and I can not withdriue me from vice. It is better sayde, I mate, but I will not solow vertue. I wyll not defame straunge realmes, but I wyll speake of vs, that be laynes, and by thoin shall be seene, how they haue ben full of malice, and that they might haue doone well. I woulde witte of the deedes, that Marcus Antonius dyd wyth Cleopatra: the proscription, that Scilla made of the nobles of Rome:

AVRELIVS.

I come: The confuration that Catlina  
 inuented agaynste his countrey: The  
 blond, that was shedde for the cause of  
 Pompeie, in the campe of Pharsale:  
 And the great theft, that Iulius Cesar  
 made of the treasor: the cruelties, that  
 Nero did to his mother: the shames,  
 that Caligula committed with his systert  
 the treason that Brutus did to his fa-  
 ther Caius: the shrewdnes and cruels-  
 ties, that Domitian did to the virgins  
 Vestales: the treasons that Iulius Ce-  
 troclus vsed wyth the Siliciens and  
 Sicilians: the frates and murders that  
 Calpurn the mariner made in the temples  
 and churches of Campaine. I woulde  
 know of suche, as I haue reherfed, and  
 diuers other, that I speake not of, that  
 applied theim to so many shrewde tur-  
 nes, who letted theim (If they had  
 would) to haue applied them selfe to do  
 other good dedes: All this I haue sayde  
 my friende Polion, to answere, to that  
 ye haue demaunded of me: That is, in  
 what sciences I haue wasted and con-  
 sumed my tyme. Wherfore it pleaseth  
 me, to tell it to thee. And Nero my fa-  
 ther, suffered me but eight yere in my  
 childehode: and than, till I was tenne  
 yere



yere of age, I went to scole for to write  
 and rede: and fro ten yere to .xiii. I  
 wente to studie with Enformien, and  
 lerned Grammer: fro .xiii. yere to .xvii.  
 I learned eloquence, with Alexander  
 the Breke, a famous oratour: fro that  
 tyme to .xxii. yere, I was with Serto  
 Calcedon, learning natural philosophi.  
 Those yeres passed, I was at Rhodes  
 and studied humanitee, til I was .xxvii.  
 yere of age. And than I wente to Na-  
 ples, where as I was thre yere with  
 Flaton a Breke, learning greke letters.  
 And I put my good will so muche ther-  
 to, that I spake, and wrote greke more  
 easily than latine. Than I returned to  
 Rome, where the warre of Dace arose,  
 to the which Adrian my lord sent me:  
 And because that in armes, and in time  
 of warre, I could cary no bookes of sci-  
 ence, I determined me, to lerne the sci-  
 ence of musike with Hieronime Com-  
 mode, to thentente that I might with  
 swetenesse of instrumentes, restrain my  
 body fro certayn vices, whiche as than  
 in my house began to take force. All the  
 reste of my lyfe, thou knowest; it hath  
 ben in bearyng of offices in Rome, un-  
 to the tyme that the weyght of the mo-  
 narchie

AVRELIVS.

narchy was laied on my shoulders. Whereto the emperour spake.

¶ Then by this letter written to his freende, it semeth well, that without sleuth he passed his time. It is reason, to beleue it holly, in that he hath saied. For so excellent workes, that he made, and so high sentēces, as he wrote, might not procede, but of a prudent man, and a very wise spirite.

¶ Now for the wisdomē of Marcus, many wise men flourished in his time. Capitulo. iiii.



¶ As the life of the price is but a white, for all other to shote at, and as a glasse, wherin al the worlde dooeth beholde: so we see by experience, that where vnto a prince is inclined, the people trauiayling to folow the same, haue not the descrecion, to eschew the euill, and folow the good.

¶ Certainely thei muse no lesse vppon a counterfait fowl, made of fethers, than thoughte it were of fleshe, and yet at

D ii

the

M A R C V S

the firste syght, it leseth the lybertee,  
and yet his hunger is not therby quen-  
ched. Wherby all the winges of liber-  
tee are tourned to peine of seruage. It  
is a great offence, and an immortal in-  
fame to a prynce, that in the steede of  
giuynge his hand of good liuynge, to re-  
lieue other, casteth backward his fote  
of euill example, wherby al other ouer-  
throwe. Than withoute comparison,  
greater is the wickednesse of the peo-  
ple, than the negligence of the prynce.  
For if one lyueth yll, and an other folo-  
weth him, it is no meruail: and though  
there be but few, that folow him, it  
is no new thyng. For in case, that ma-  
ny folow him, it is no fearefull thyng,  
but al the hole to folow him, is a great  
sclaunder. If the people were suche, as  
they ought to be, one should rather turn  
from ill to good for manye, than that  
many for one should tourne from good  
to yll. Certaynely euery man knoweth  
that though we be bounde to folow the  
honest commaundementes of our prin-  
ces, yet we be not bounde to folow their  
ill liuynge. What shall we say than, se-  
ynge that now a dayes, the delytes of  
men are of so greaie prynces, and the by-  
gones

AVRELIVS.

gour of their empire in so pooze estimation, that withoute shame, some dyspraise their iuste commaundementes, and solowe their euill workes. O, yf the princes had suche noubre of good folke, that would fulfill their comman-  
dement, as they haue greate noubre of wretches, that solow their doynges, I sweare, that there should be no neede of any prison for misdoers, or carcans for blasphemers, chaynes for slaues, nor headdynge blockes for traytours, nor kniues for aduoutrers, nor galowes for thenes. I will giue you example of all this, wherby ye shall see, that it is true, that I say. If the kynge be inclined to hunte, all will be hunters: if he bee a plaier, all will plaie: if he vse armes, all will tourney: if he be an aduoutrer, other will vse the same: if he bee fierce, other will be fierce: if he be vertuous, all will be vertuous and valiant: if he be temperate and moderate, al will absteyne: if he be hardy, all will be bolde: if he be pitifull, all will haue pitie: if he be wise, all will learne. And to the  
• entent, that we blame not all onely the  
princes of our daies, let vs call to me-  
mory, the princes of time past. Who

Did

that

# MARCVS

that hath redde Sertus Cheronense, in his booke called the diuers inclinacions, that princes haue had, shall fynde that Romulus, foundatour of Rome, honored greatly grauers in stone: Numma Pompilius, his successour, honoured priestes: Paulus Emilius, martyners: Caius Caesar, goldsmithes: Scipio the capitaines: Augustus Octavius tennis platers: Calligula, ruffians: Tiberius, bandes: cruell Nero, sword platers: Claudius, wyters: Scilla, armourers: Martus, his compaignion, grauers of Images: Vaspasian, good paynters: Titus his eldest sonne, minstrelles: Domicion his mighty brother crossebow makers, and aboue all other our Marcus Aurelius emperour, wyse men. The diuers inclinacions, that princes had in diuers thynges, hath made to vary the fauour and disfauour of many princes, with their people. And as the common people regardeth more fauour, than iustice, suche officers are moste fauoured, to whome princes doeth most incline. All this we saie, to shew, howe that in the tyme of this good emperour, wyse men were fauoured. If the hystorians dooe not lie sicke

# AVRELIVS.

the tyme of Nerena, the Romayn (whiche was muche more happye, to haue wylse men to his frendes, than to inuēt new maner of meates and bankettes) vnto this Marcus Aurelius, haue passed .xviii. emperours, whiche were Julius, Octavius, Tibertus, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Othus, Vitellus, Vaspasianus, Titus, Domitianus, Nerua, Traianus, Adrianus, Anthonius, and Aurelius: And of al these, we can finde al onely but two, that fauoured wylse men, that is to say, Nerua and Traian. Al the other emperours were not onely disciples of liers, but also were persecutours of the trowth.

This semeth to bee trewe: for Julius persecuted Cicero: Octavius banished Daide: Tibertus enpoysoned Caluicio: Caligula caused to cutte the throttes of iiii. oratours together: Nero slew his maister Senec: Claudius sette his vncle Lucan in prison: Othus hanged by Patroclus: Domitian banished all the oratours of Rome: And the more to shew his cursednesse, whan the wylse men, that were banished, went oute at one gate: There entred in at an other gate all vnthyftes, the whiche by Ty-

# MARCVS

sus his brother, had ben banished and  
 exyled. And as I sape of these se we in  
 nombre, I might say of many other.  
 For certapnely the wise men were not  
 thus entreated in the time of this good  
 emperour Marcus: and that this is true  
 it seemeth by diuers excellent barons,  
 well learned in diuers sciences, that  
 flourished in his time: Julius Capito-  
 lin recounteth of them as foloweth: A-  
 lexander a Breke, Trassion, Polion,  
 Coticus, Anius Macrion, Caninius,  
 Crostaticus, Porcius, Cornelius, Apo-  
 lonius, Nius, Sertus Cheronense, Ju-  
 nius Rastiscus, Claudius Maximus, Ci-  
 na Catulus, Claudius Seuerus, and  
 the renoumed Diogenitus painter, and  
 the well learned lawier Volusius Mer-  
 cianus. All these were in this emperors  
 palays, and residente in his prsence:  
 And yet for all that, he had diuers other  
 wise personnes in Rome, and a brode,  
 in Italy. It was no meruaile, to see in  
 those daies, the multitude of men that  
 flourished in wysedome. There was  
 no father, but if he had two sonnes, he  
 would set one of them to studie, and the  
 other accordyng to the Romayne lawe,  
 should be set to warres. And if this em-  
 perour

# AVRELIVS.

perour wist of any wyse yonge man, a-  
boue all other he woulde fauour hym.

**O**f the emperour Marcus sonne  
named Verissimus. Cap. v.



**T**his Emperour Marcus  
Aurelius, had onely two  
sonnes, as Herodia saith.  
The greatest & eldest was  
called Comode, & the yon-  
gest was named Verissi-  
mus. He was a sayre childe of person, &  
right vertuous of liuing. With his beau-  
tie he drew to him the eyes of many,  
and with his good inclinacions, he rob-  
bed the hertes of all men. He was the  
hope of the people, and the glory of his  
fathers age. And though the eldest was  
prince, yet the emperour determyned,  
that the laste boyn, for his vertues shuld  
inherit as the eldest. And he that was  
firste bozne, for his demerites, should  
be disherited. And as good desyres in  
the best tyme fayne often by unhappye  
chaunce, this emperour beyng of. lii. ye-  
res of age, and the son of. xvi. the glo-  
ry of Rome, and hope of the father, the  
lyfe of the sonne tooke an ende. And as

D b

much



# M A R C V S

muche was the death bewayled, as the  
 life desired. It was greate pitie. For  
 the senate by reason therof saw not the  
 emperour, nor the olde emperour for so-  
 row saw not the senate of a long space.  
 Rome was right heauy, and the senate  
 withdrew theym to the heyght of the  
 capitoll dyuers daies. And as the mi-  
 stes and wyndes cause the leaues to  
 fall, that were greene in Sommer, and  
 the deedes of honour constraine vs to  
 forget the mishappes of fortune, & as a  
 man of high linage, and of stronge cou-  
 rage, though that sorow remayne in  
 his heart, and abide locked therein,  
 determineth to clense the braunches of  
 sorowes that is outwarde, saynyng ioy  
 and mirth outwardly, keppng the so-  
 row within: so this Marcus the empe-  
 rour, as a man, whose vyne freseth and  
 dieth, wherin he had all his hope, con-  
 tented him with that was left behynde.  
 Whā his deare sonne Verissinus was  
 dead, he sent for the prince Comode his  
 onely inheritour, whiche sith the childe  
 his brother was dead, entred not into  
 the palais. And the Emperour seying  
 the pronde and outrageous porte of his  
 sonne Comode, bedewed his eyen with  
 salt

# AVRELIVS.

salt teares, remembryng the shame of  
the one, and the death of the other. The  
whiche perceiued by Faustine his mo-  
ther, whiche loued him moste entlerly,  
commaunded to haue hir sonne awaye  
from the pzelesence of his father.

**W**hat wyse and auncient men  
Marcus chose to instruct  
his sonne. Cap. vi.



**T**hough that the herte of  
this Emperour was oc-  
cupied with the death of  
his childe, yet for all that  
he reysed his vnderstan-  
dyng, to haue the prince  
his herte, right wel brought vp. For cer-  
taynly princes ben such, whā thei come  
to mans estate, as thei be brought vp in  
their tender youth. The father than kno-  
wyng the frayle inclinaciōs of his child  
not correspondent to the good gouer-  
naunce of the Emppre, as a good empe-  
rour sent ouer al Italy for the most wi-  
sest persons in learnyng, the moste fa-  
mous of renowne, & the most vertuous  
in dedes. And as in diuers thynges the  
infa-

# MARCVS

Infamie is greater in the yll doynge by malice, than the faulte of the trespassor by weakenesse: so in dyuers other thynges, the common voice is more than the secret vertue. For the whiche occasion after the assembling of these wise men, the emperour commaunded to examine thein, and to be enformed of the bloud of their predecessours, of the appoyntment in all theyr thynges, and of the treatie of their busynesse, and of the credence amonge their neighbours, and of the purenes of their liues, and grauntie of their persons, and finally of their sciences, that they coulde doo, and this to be done in an order. The Astrologiens in astronomye, the musiciens, in musike, the oratours in their art of rhetoricke, and some in other sciences.

And this not in one day, but in manye, and not only by information of other, but he would know it by his own propre experience. Thus they were all examined, so that there was none lefte behynde. And as for perfecte knowledge of thinges, wherin we haue great affection, it behoueth to haue straunge aduise, clere vnderstandynge, and propre experience: so the emperour com-

man:

AVRELIVS.

made to chose out of diuers a few, and  
out of few the wisest, and of the wisest  
the most expert, most worthy, and most  
auncient. And accordyng to the. vii. ar-  
tes liberal, there was assigned to euery  
science two maisters: so that the prince  
was one, & the maisters. xiiii. This re-  
nowme that the emperour sent ouer al,  
to haue maisters for his son the prince,  
caused to come to him mo wise men fro  
straunge countreis, than of the marches  
and neighbours of Rome. The good  
emperour considerynge that it was no  
reason, that suche as came to his seruice:  
should retourne discontented, some  
with ioyful wordes, some vpon certain  
hope, and some with giftes and pre-  
sentes were dispatched, so that they  
wer all pleased. And if this doyng was  
renowned by the report of the wise me  
it was no lesse vertuous by the wisdom  
and worthinesse of the emperour, to send  
them home so well content. For he sente  
them alway as well satisfied that were  
ouercome, as thei were contented that  
ouercame theim. And certaynely they  
had all reason, for some bare the sweete  
wordes and satisfiynge of the father:  
and some abode there charged with the  
enter

# M A R C V S.

enterpryse of the sonne. Yet the good  
emperour, not beyng contented with  
this, commaunded that these, maisters  
shuld be lodged in his palais and eate  
in his presence, and accompany his per-  
sone, to see if their life were comformas-  
ble to their science, and whether their  
plesant and well couched wordes, agre-  
ed in effect with their workes. It was  
a meruailous thyng to see the study and  
thought that the emperour had to re-  
gard thein, as well in goyng as in see-  
dyng.

**H**owe it chaunced to five wise men,  
wherefore thei were put out of  
the emperours house.

Capitulo. vii.



**I**n the moneth of Se-  
ptember, the. xi. daie  
thereof, in halowing  
the feast of the empe-  
rours natiuite, in the  
same house where as  
he was borne, in the  
place of mount Celio,  
As a trewand and foole doeth like him  
selfe, and semblable as he is accus-  
med

A V R E L I V S .

med to doo. And lyke as one doeth the  
 semblable thynges and customes, that  
 he is wont to doo: so the Emperour set  
 more his intencion on wyse men, than  
 his eyes on fooles. He sawe syue of  
 them satte beatyng the pauement with  
 their secte, and arose from theyr pla-  
 ces, clappyng theyr handes, speakyng  
 lowde, and laughynge excedyngly, the  
 whiche was no lesse marked of the em-  
 perour than beholden. Whan the fest  
 was dooen, he called them asyde, and  
 sayde: frendes, lette abyde with me  
 the pitifull goddes, and lette the good  
 deedes go with you. I haue chosen you  
 to the extent that fooles shoulde be con-  
 uerted to wise men, but I see wise men  
 become fooles. Doe ye not know, that  
 with the fyre of myrture golde is dra-  
 wen, and by the lightnes of fooles wise  
 men are proued: Certaynely the fyne  
 golde defendeth his qualitees in the  
 quicke furnaies, and likewise the wyse  
 man sheweth his vertues amog fooles.  
 Note ye not, that a foole cannot be kno-  
 wen among fooles, noz a wyse man a-  
 mong sage folke: Among wise men, the  
 foole is made bryght, and among fooles  
 wise men do shyne. Doe ye not know,  
 what

M A R C V S.

What shame it is to make the disciples  
of fooles, maisters of princes. Know  
ye not, that of the couragious vnder-  
standing proceedeth the composition of  
the bodie, the rest of the personne to be  
the temperance of the tongue: what pro-  
fiteth it you to haue an experte tongue,  
a quicke memory, a clere vnderstanding  
great science, profounde eloquence, or  
a swete style, if with all these graces ye  
haue a wicked wyll? Wherfore wyll  
wise men haue theyr wordes so distinct  
and moderate, if their wordes be light?  
And to thentent that it should not seme  
to you that I speake of pleasure, I wyll  
bryng to you an antike lawe of Rome.  
In the seuenth table of the lawes of our  
fathers was written these wordes.

We commaunde, that a more greuous  
chastisement be gyuen to the wyse man  
for a light dedde doone openly, than to  
a secrete murderer. O iust lawe, and  
iust men that ordeyned it. For the sim-  
ple labourer sleeth but one with hys  
knyfe in his anger, but he that is wyse  
sleeth many with the euyl example of  
his liuynge. Curiously I haue regar-  
ded, that Rome beginneth to declyne,  
when our Senate sayleth of meke and  
wise

AVRELIVS.

Wise Senatours, and multiplieth with  
these serpentines. The holy senate was  
adozned with olde prudent personnes:  
And not with teares, I say at this houre  
it is full of fanglers and liers. Auncis  
entlye in the Schooles of Grece was  
taught onely woordes, leauynge the  
worke: and than in Rome was taught  
to dooe workes, and leaue wordes.  
But now it is contrary, for nowe in  
Grece the liers and fanglers, are ba  
nished, and hath sente them to Rome:  
and Rome hath banished and sente the  
good wise men into Grece: and in this  
maner I desyre rather to bee banished  
into Grece with wise men, than to a  
byde in Rome with fooles. To the praise  
of a good man (I sweare to you my fre  
endes) that whiles I was yonge, I  
saw in the senate the philosopher Cri  
sippus (brought vp with good Traian)  
speake oftentimes: and he was so swete  
in his wordes, that many times he was  
harde more than three houres together.  
And he neuer spake worde but it was of  
eternall memory. And whan so euer  
he went out of the Senate, I neuer saw  
him dooe deede, whereby he deserued to  
haue greuous payne.



M A R C V S

**C**ertainly it was a meruallous thing  
to see and here the estimation of his e-  
loquence, and the infamy of his person.  
All Rome was a basshed of his highe e-  
loquence, and al Rome and Italy wer  
sclaundered with his wicked workes.  
The prosperitee of Rome dured .CCC.  
yere. And so longe Rome was Rome,  
as it had simplicitie in wordes, and gra-  
uitie in woorkes. One thyng I shal  
shew you, which is greate confusion to  
them aliue, and greate admiracion to  
theim that be dead, that of all the aun-  
cient men I neuer redde a light worde  
that they spake, nor any euill dedde that  
they did. What thyng was seene than  
in that glorious worlde, but to reioyse  
in so glorious wyse men? And nowe  
at this day the worlde is so corrupted,  
bycause there is so many yong corrupt,  
surely I haue greater enuy of theyr  
deddes than of our writynges. Theyr  
few woordes and good woorkes haue  
left vs exauple of great admiracion.  
And the wise men of thys time teache  
vs openly, and write vs secretely doc-  
trines of perdition. Than by this that  
I haue sayde, and by other exauples  
that I shall saie, ye may knowe what  
I meane

AVRELIVS.

I meane. When the realme of Acaye  
submitted his peryllous hornes, and  
his proude heade, to the sweete obey-  
saunce of the empyre, they drew them  
to this condicion, that they would haue  
ben the hooftes of the garnisons of all  
Acay, and not disciples of the oratours  
of Rome. At that season there was in  
Rome a great lord, ambassadour of A-  
caye, temperate in woordes, and honest  
of luyng, with a white head: He was  
enquired of the senate, why he was so  
cruel, to leade into his countrey for men  
of warre, poore and couetous squiers,  
and leaue wise men of greate herte.  
He answered with such loue as he had  
to his countrey, and with such grauitie  
as longed to suche a person, and also  
with suche hardinesse, as his office re-  
quired, sayng: O fathers conscriptes,  
O happy people, It is. ii. daies si the I  
rate any thyng, and. ii. daies sy the I  
slept, cursyng the fatal destinies of for-  
tune, that hath brought me into Italy,  
and lamentynge vnto the goddes, that  
kepe me in this lyfe, bycause my spy-  
rite is betwene the harde anueld and  
the importunate hammer, where as I  
do see al is as hard as the anueld, wher

M A R C V S

on the hammer often striketh. The  
thyng most perillous amonge all pe-  
rils, is to make election. Ye constraine  
me to chole, and myne vnderstandynge  
can not attein thereto; and the goddes  
doe not shew me, what I haue to chole.  
If I lead garrisons of men of armes, it  
shall be very noyfull to the families, yf  
I byrnye aduocates, it shall be perillous  
for the common wealthe. Sorrowfull  
that I am, what shall I doo? Oh heauy  
and vnhappy realme, that abydeeth for  
theim, and ye cruel, that commaundeth  
theim. Than sith it is thus, I deter-  
mine me to leade theim, that shall wast  
our gooddes, and spende theim, rather  
than those that shoulde corrupte and  
bzeake our customes. For a legion and  
an army by necessitee maie put to affli-  
ction and sorrow onely a people: But  
an oratour or an aduocate by his ma-  
lice, may corrupt a hole realme. Than  
saied the emperour to these wyse men:  
freendes, how greate is the credence of  
ignoraunt people, and losse of learned  
men? Wherfore should thei of Acle ra-  
ther giue meate to poore souldiours,  
men of armes, than to haue for thei  
neyghbours oratours and wise spea-  
kyng

AVRELIVS:

kyng advocates: So whan this com-  
municacion of the emperoz was ended,  
the spue greate maysters wente away  
with great shame, and the .ix. other ta-  
ried with great feare. In all this while  
it passed not two monethes after, that  
the prince Comode was come from his  
noyses, where as he had learned the doc-  
trine of suckynge of brestes. Also he  
was but of tender age, and not of great  
delicate vnderstandynge. The prynce  
Comode was born in Rome on the mūt  
Celio, and nourished at the gate of Ho-  
stie. He was more deerely beloued of  
Faustina his mother, than hated of  
Marcus Aurelius his father. And to  
speke with al due honour among them,  
the mother helde hir for certain to be the  
childes mother: and the childe ac-

cordyng to his customes was  
muche like his mother: and

the father was in doubt,

whether he were his

son, bycause he

resembled

but ly-

tel

in vertues to the

father.

¶ iii

How

## MARCVS

**H**ow the emperor reasoned with  
the maisters that should learne  
his sonne. Cap. viii.



**A**l these matters beynge  
passe, the good empe-  
rour so, to esteeme the  
thing that he had done  
and to puruey so, that  
he had to do, he called  
a side the nine wyse  
men, and sayde to theym. There is  
greate fame in Rome of that I haue  
doen in the empire, to do such diligence  
as to discouer all the wise men, and of  
the curiositee that I haue shewed as in  
entertaining of the best. Of trouth if ye  
be wise, ye can not be sclaudered of any  
thyng. The annoyance of yll thynges co-  
meth of wysedome and vertue, but the  
admiracion of good thynges procedeth  
of small vnderstandyng or lesse experi-  
ence. The wise person will suffre none  
admiracion. To the w at the first bronte  
macion in euery thyng, the weth to be  
constat in nothing. I haue made strait  
examination amonge you, so, so ought  
such to passe as should be admitted to  
Grau

AVRELIVS:

strait amities. New amities is wea-  
 ry in three daies: and ever haue I sene  
 and proued by experience, that freendes  
 lyghtly taken, are lightly left agayne.  
 I chaunced in company of an auncient  
 Romaine, whiche was all white for  
 age, and bycause he merited it, I called  
 him father, and he for loue and nurture  
 called me sonne, the which in case of ad-  
 uenture inquired many thynges of me  
 but I would make him none answer,  
 Than he saied these wordes to me. Son  
 beholde, in the law of freendeshyp, it is  
 wrytten, that the freende in all thynges  
 trusteth to his freende, first regardyng  
 who is his freend. Surely this counsaill  
 was good. The curious man of armes  
 (yf he will bie a horse) fyrste he wyl see  
 hym renne and assayed, or he speake of  
 the sale of hym, yf he please him not,  
 though he myght haue him, for a lesse  
 price, he will not haue him: if he please  
 him, what so ever the price is set, he wil  
 not leaue hym. Than it is a lesfull thyng  
 that the beast be examined, and felt ere  
 he be had into the stable. In lyke wyse  
 a man should be examined, ere he be re-  
 ceived into amitie. And yf the hors that  
 eateth but hey, straw and otes, be leste  
 for

# MARCVS

For one ill tatche, much more the freend,  
 whiche is the intestine of the heart, and  
 ought to kepe our secretes and affecti-  
 ons, for diuers fautes ought not to bee  
 receyued into the same. There was a  
 philosophier named Arispo, the fyrste  
 that was in the time of Silla and Ma-  
 rius, who saied, that freendes ought to  
 be lyke good horses, That is to say, that  
 they ought to haue a littell heade by  
 humble cōuersacion, quicke of hearyng  
 to the intente that they be ready whan  
 they are called, a soft mouthe, to thende  
 that their ioungue be temperate. The  
 houe of the foote hard, to suffre traual,  
 and their handes open to dooe good de-  
 des, their feete sure to perseuer in ami-  
 tee, a bay colour for his good renoume.  
 And finally the horse returneth, that is  
 the manuell freende, and therto is ioy-  
 ned these wordes. That is, that he be  
 without curbes, and bites, and that he  
 may goe where as any fatall destinies  
 tourneth the byddell and reigne of for-  
 tune. The goddes vnderstande me,  
 though that men can not attaine therto  
 or comprise it. Returnyng than to the  
 purpose, I wyl ye know, because I  
 haue taken you for freendes, not to put  
 you

AVRELIVS.

you away at length. And though that  
cheritrees produceth they? flowres in  
February: wee abyde not to haue the  
cherries but in Maie. Friendses ought  
to be as mulberies, that in suche tyme  
produceth their beries, whiche is they?  
fruite, that they feare not the frostes of  
Maie, as the vines doo, no; the mystes  
of Octobre, as the petches and quinces  
doo. I will not that they come, whan  
the prosperitee is good, and goe awaye  
whan the fortune is nought. For that  
is no poynte of true freendes. As the  
lies of wines causeth drunkardes to vo-  
mit in the tauernes, lyke wyse aduersi-  
tee driueth awaye faynt freendes out of  
the house, bycause the seruice is not ac-  
ceptable, without the wyll be knowen  
of him that doeth it. Than holde you  
sure of my contentaciō, sith that I haue  
it of your workes. I come now to the  
effect of our purpose. I haue taken you  
for to be maisters of this childe, and re-  
garde, that I haue taken you seue a-  
mong many, to the ende that my sonne  
should be noted amonge few. His nur-  
les at the gate of Hosty haue gyue hym  
two yerres sucke of their milke, and his  
mother Faustine hath gyuen him other



# MARCVS

two peres to spozte him in the Palais:  
 And I lyke a good father wil giue him  
 xx. peres of chastisement. It soze dis-  
 pleasech Faustyne his mother to leaue  
 him so soone, and I am sozy that I toke  
 him so late. It is no maruail, for these  
 women with their lightnesse, and these  
 children with their small knowlage,  
 occupy theim selfe in thynges present:  
 But woꝛthy wyse men ought to thinke  
 on that is passed, and also to ordein for  
 that that is present, and with great stu-  
 dye to pꝛouide for the tyme to come. I  
 thynke on euery day in the pere, and of  
 the day that the goddes haue gyuen me,  
 and of the day that I giue vnto you.

The goddes to me, and I to you dooe  
 gyue him moꝛtall to be as a man, and  
 than you to me, and I to the goddes do  
 render him immoꝛtall to be wyse.

¶ What will ye that I say moze? Cer-  
 taynely god hath made hym man a-  
 mong men by the soule, and I haue en-  
 gendꝛed him a beast amonge beastes by  
 the flesh, ye shall make hym a god a-  
 mong goddes by shape. I ascertayne  
 you of one thyng, which is, I haue not  
 gyuen to my childe but moꝛtall fleshe,  
 wherwith he shall take an ende of his  
 life:

AVRELIVS.

life: but ye shall gyue him doctryne,  
 wherewith his memory shall neuer pe-  
 rish. If his youthe knew the weak  
 and saint flesh that I haue giuen hym,  
 and that his dul vnderstandyng would  
 reache to the wisdom that ye may giue  
 him, he should call you fathers, and me  
 an yll stepfather. And though he  
 say not so, yet I confesse it, that is, that  
 the naturall fathers of the fleshe are  
 stepfathers of noblenesse, sith that we  
 giue the naturalitee of them subiecte to  
 so many mutabilitiees, and bonde and  
 captiue to so many miseries. For cer-  
 tayne ye shall be iust fathers to him. As  
 as now ye can enable his flesh in good  
 customes, and than to byyng his vnder-  
 standing to be occupied with high scien-  
 ces. And syrs, repute it not small, that  
 I committe to your charge and arbitre-  
 ment, that thyng which princes ought  
 most to regard, that is, to se, to whome  
 thei comit the nourishinge of their chil-  
 dren. To be maisters of princes in earth  
 is to haue the office of the goddes that  
 ben in heauen. For they gouerne hym  
 that hath cure to gouerne vs: They en-  
 doctrine hym that should teache vs, thei  
 shew vnto him, that ought to shew vs,  
 That

# MARCVS

Chastise him that ought to chastise vs,  
and finally thei commaunde one, the  
which after ward alone may command  
all the worlde.

**¶** What will ye that I shall say moze?  
For certaine thei that haue the charge  
of a pynce, be the gouernall of the ship,  
the standard of an army, the gouernace  
of people, the guide of waies, the shilde  
of kynges, the treasure of all, bycause  
they haue amonge theyr handes, hym  
that afterwarde ought to gouerne all  
the worlde. And furthermoze to then-  
tent that ye haue him in moze estimati-  
on, I wyll tell you, that in giuyng my  
son vnto you, I do giue you moze, than  
if I had giuen you a realme. The pure  
and cleane liuyng of the sonne aloue, is  
the glorious fame of his father that is  
deade. For of him, that the sonne tru-  
steth in his life, dependeth the renowne  
of the father that is dead. Thus haue  
ye had the gods at wyll, and the byes  
tell destinies of fortune happie to you,  
as vnto this houre ye haue not watched  
with children of strangers. Fro hence-  
forth wake ye with the pynce, whiche  
is the profite of all other. And take  
good heede my freendes, that there is  
great

# AVRELIVS.

greater difference in byrnyngge bp of  
prynces childzen, than to teache yonge  
boies of the common people. The moste  
parte of theim that come to schooles,  
come for to learne to speake, but I deli-  
uered not my sonne Comode to you to  
learne him to speake many wordes: but  
for to sette him in the way to dooe good  
deedes. The glorie of foolishhe fathers is  
to see their childzen vanquish the other in  
disputing, but my glory and ioy is to se  
my son surmount oher in vertue. For  
the glory of the Greeces was to speake  
muche and to do lyttell, and the glorie  
of the Romaines is to doo muche and  
speake but littell.

**H**ow the maisters of prynces ought  
to kepe them from vices.

Capitulo. ix.



**M**arcus Aurelius folow-  
yng his purpose, ioynd  
this to his foresaid wor-  
des, and saied: Regarde  
wel my frendes, and for-  
get not, that I trust you  
in myne honour, who am my sonnes fa-  
ther; and of the studie of Comode my  
sonne,

# M A R C V S.

sonne, and of the glory of Rome my nat-  
tarall countrey, and of the solace and  
rest of Rome, whiche is my subiecte:  
Of the governaunce of Italy, which is  
your countrey. And aboue all thynges  
of the peace and tranquillitee of our co-  
mon wealth. Than he that is put in  
truste with suche administracion of o-  
ther, hath no cause to sleape. Nowe  
let vs come to moze particular thinges.  
Regard as now, what thyng is mooste  
conuenable for my sonne, whiche as a  
yonge colte would go play in the grene  
meadowes, and noysom shalbe the kes-  
per to hym, and a thyng painful to kepe  
him therfro. The firste thyng, wherof  
I praye you, is to gyue hym a stronge  
byrdell, and a sharpe bitte, to the intent  
that he be well mouthed, so that none  
take him with lies. The greatest faute  
that can be in menne of honestie, is to  
spare the trouthe, and not to be verytas-  
ble. And the greatest byllany in a bil-  
layne is to be giuen in largesse of lies.  
Set good order vpon hym. Take hede  
to hys handes, to the entent that he ac-  
custome him not to demaunde to playe  
at the tables and dice with suche as be  
lost and naught,

The

**T**he greatest token that a prince will lose and destroye the empire, is whan in his yonge age, he is knowen to be vicious in play. The plate is suche a vice, that who so ever it biteth, it is lyke the biting of a madde dogge, the whiche rage endureth vnto death. I recomende to you my chylde, though he bee yonge, make hym sadde and moderate. Certaynly it is not so great a glory vnto a prince to haue the crowne on his head, nor a chayne of golde aboute his shoulders, nor the sceptre in his hande, nor the greates company and garde that he hath aboute him, as to shewe sadnesse from his youth. The open honestie supplieth many fautes and debilities. Spare not to cast on him a strong chayne, and to tie him faste, that he goe not to delites and vanities. For an effeminate person neuer hath spirite to any high or noble dedes. I am greatly satisfied with that the teacher of Nero said to his disciple, Though I wylle that god woulde pardon me, and that men knew no misse of me, yet for the villany of the flesh, I would not sinne in the flesh. Surely they were good wordes, and yll borne away of Nero.

Uet

# M A R C V S.

Let not yet goe the reine. For if he see the ponge mares, he will neigh or bray, if he see time. The vice of the fleshe in all times, in all ages, and in all estates holdeth his season or course, yf it passe not in the greene age of childehod, castyng of the reine of reason, and strykyng with the spurres of the fleshe, and blowyng with the trope of sensualitee. Takynge the bridell in the teeth with a furious will, rennyng thorough mountaynes and woddes after the mare, in leauynge hir, goynge but softly, and in the ouertakynge muche lesse. And than after ward beyng therein deliberate, the body remayneth impotent, the vnderstandyng a cloied and blinded, the reason troubled, the good name losse, and yet neuerthelesse at the laste the fleshe remayneth fleshe. What remedy for this? I fynde none other, but that a greate quicke fyre, couered and laden with earth, dieth. And whan the vicious manne is layed in his graue, he maketh an ende and may neuer correct him selfe. Wherefore I aduise you to giue no place to this ponge childe to be vicious. And in the chastisying of hym gyue no respite, though he bee ponge, and

AVRELIVS.

and my childe, and well loued and cherished with his mother, and though he be the onely heire of the empire.

With chilozen of a stranger, crueltee is tyranny, but a mans owne childe pitie is the occasion of his losse in tyme to come. It is shewed vs by trees, howe wee ought to nourishe our chilozen.

Of trouth the chestain trees byyng forth the soft swete chestnut out of the sharpe prickynge and hard huske. And on the nut trees amonge the swete soft leaues, is nourished the harde nut. Appliynge this to our purpose, we haue secne a pitieful father, byyng forth a cruel sonne, and a cruell father a pitiefull sonne.

He that was learned amonge all other learned, and renoumed among al other renoumed, Lycurgus kinge of the Lacedemoniens, in giuyng his lawes in his realme, I remembre to haue red there, in these wordes. We commaunde as kynges, and pray as men, that al thing be forgiuen to theim that be olde and broken, and to theim that be yonge and lusty, to dissimulate for a tyme, and nothing to be forgiuen to very yonge chilozen. In good sothe these were good wordes spoken of suche a person, and

¶

seemeth



semeth reason. For it is reason that the  
horse, that hath runne and passed his  
course of carpage, shoulde reste him.  
And who that haue passed rightuouly,  
it is Justice, that he be suffered in rest.  
And the childe that will passe reason,  
ought to be reformed. Cause him to be  
alwayes occupied in vertuouse actes.

For if the vnderstandyng be dulled, and  
the body slouthfull in suche age, with  
great difficultee wyl they draw to thinges  
that be straunge to theyr delectacions,  
bicause that the lightnesse is in the  
head, and reason vnder the eies. His  
youth will demaunde you some recre-  
ation, whiche ye shall consyder, so it be  
not often nor to seldome. First that it be  
by reason, Secondly that they be taken  
in noble exercises. Take hede, For I  
geue not my son vnto you, that ye shuld  
geue him recreation, but onely for to  
teache him.

The henne havyng hir egges vnder  
hir wynges, in that season goeth not a-  
bode in the yardes, and though the eg-  
ges bee not hir owne, yet she hatcheth  
theim, as if they were hir owne. For  
this cause at this tyme in Rome of  
disciples, &c. cometh forth with  
out

AVRELIVS.

out doctrine, for if their maisters waste  
two houres in doctrine with them, they  
lese with them. xx. houres in the mocke-  
ry. And therof it is, that of the smal gra-  
uitie of the maister, springeth greates  
boldnes and litell shame in the disciple.  
Beleue me frendes, that the teachers to  
princes, and maisters to disciples, pro-  
fite more in one day with good exam-  
ples, than in a yere with many lessons.  
My sonne seyng you draw to vertues,  
will draw to the same: if he se you stu-  
die, he wyl study: yf he se you peassible,  
he will be still: he seyng you temperate  
in feedyng, wyl eate but littel: seyng  
you shamefast, he wyl feare you: seyng  
you restfull, he wyl reste: and if ye doe  
contrary, he wyl dooe contrary. This  
surely is true: for the auncient men on-  
ly with the euill that they see, either do  
they corrupt their bodies, or sclaunder  
their owne iudgementes, as children do,  
that can say nothing but that thei here,  
nor doo nothyng but that thev se. I will  
also that the prince my sonne learne the  
vii. artes liberall. For I haue taken  
many of you, to the intent that ye should  
teache hym muche. And if at the last  
we should be sozowful, because he hath  
J ii not

# M A R C V S

not lerned, al we shall not be soze, If he knowe muche, nor thynke his tyme yll spent, nor be begyled in saynge, that he knoweth enogh of that so yong a child shuld haue to gouerne and rule the empire. A very philosophier after the lawe of linage, ought to haue spech at place and tyme conuenient, to fight in the feld and to speake in the senate. If myne owne remembraunce begyle me not, among mine antiquities I haue brought a stone out of Grece, the which Pythagoras the philosophier held at the gates of his schole, wherein was wrytten with his owne handes, these wordes: He that knoweth not that he ought to know, is a brute beast among men: he that knoweth no more, than he hath nede of, is a man amonge brute beastes: He that knoweth all, that may be known, is a god amonge men. O most high wordes, Glorious is the hande that wrote theim, the whiche not at the gates, as they wer than, ought to be wrytten, but within mens breastes they shoulde bee paynted and granen. Our forefathers tooke the laste sentence of this philosopher, and the fyrst rebuke abyde to vs their last children. For certayne among

# AVRELIVS.

monge the Grekes and Lacedemoniens  
was atteyned as muche fame by theyr  
philosophers and conquestes, as bi their  
writynges, whiche they haue left vs.  
And our former emperours gat no lesse  
loue in their empire by their pzofounde  
eloquence, than they fered al the world  
by their noble triumphes. For a prouise  
wherof, beholde Julius Caesar, whiche  
beyng in the middel of his campe, with  
his lisse hande would holde his speare,  
and his penne in his right hand. He ha  
nener left of his armour, but furthwith  
he toke his bookes. We muste not lay  
excuses, saying with them that be igno  
raunt, that the liberall artes are to  
hie, and the tyme that wee haue very  
shorte. For certayne the diligence of  
men in times past reproveth our slouth  
at this day. One thyng I doe see, that  
in a short while we learne all yll, but in  
a long season we cannot learn goodnes.  
Will ye see, what is our fortunes and  
destinies, and in what thought the god  
des do kepe vs, that for to doo one good  
dede we lacke tyme, and for to do many  
shrewde tournes, wee haue to muche  
tyme. I wyll say no more, but that I  
woulde, my chyld should be nourish-

## M A R C V S

Whed in suche wyse, that he should learn  
the feare of God, the science of philoso-  
phiers, the vertues of aunciente Ro-  
maynes, the quietnesse of you his mai-  
sters, and the goodnesse of all them that  
be good, as he hath taken of me to bee  
the heyre of the empyre.. I protest to  
the immortal goddes, to whom I trust  
for to goe, and protest to the high capi-  
toll, where my bones shalbe brent, that  
neyther Rome now in my lyfe, nor the  
heauen in tymes to come shall curse me  
after my death, if by yll luyngge my son  
should leese the common wealth, yf by  
your small chastisement ye shalbe cause  
of the losse of the empyre.

How the Emperour Marcus  
nourished the pryncesse his  
doughters. Cap. x.



Marcus Aurelius the  
Emperour had two  
sones, that is to wit  
the prince Commode  
and Verissime: He  
had foure doughters,  
bi Faustine his wife  
Legitimate and heyr-  
res

# AVRELIVS;

res of the empire. This emperor was exceedingly diligente for to nouryshe his daughters. As soone as anye of theim were bozne, forthwith they were put to nours into some ferme without Rome: He woulde neuer suffre any of his chyldrene, sonnes nor daughters to be nourished within the walles of Rome. Nor consent, that they shulde sucke the brestes of delicate women. He hated delicate and gaye nourses, and they that were laborous homely and holsome he loued, and to theim and none other he betoke his chyldren to nouryshe, and he wolde neuer agree, that they shoulde be brought home to his house.

He was wonte to saie in his sportyng, I haue more a doe to content these nourisses, than to marve my daughters. Somere sheweth, that in Grece there died Arthemio, that was kynge of Argiue, without any sonne to inheryte: and the nurse, that had nourished him, with all hir myght demaunded the realme for a sonne of hirs, whyche had sucked of the same mylke, that the sayd kynge had done, alleging, that sith they were both nourished together, and sucked one milke, that they

# MARCVS

both should inherite one realme. This  
saied Homere, to reprove the nourishes  
of Grece, which tooke more presump-  
tion for nourishynge of princes, than  
queenes did in bearyng of theim. Ther-  
fore this noble Marcus Aurelius em-  
perour, woulde not that his daughters  
alonly should sucke grosse & rude milke,  
but he woulde not agree, that any reue-  
rence, honour, or seruice should be done  
vnto theim, as it belongeth to the chil-  
dren of so highe princes to be dooen,  
and as the custome is to be dooen. On a  
day as the saied emperour was at supper,  
a foole named Salindo, at whose wor-  
des the emperour often tooke pleasure,  
sayde: Syr, yester day I came from  
Salon, and fro the gate of Hostie, and  
there I sawe the emperours children  
goe like labourers, and I se here in thy  
house labourers children go like empe-  
rours: Tell me why dooe ye dissimule  
as a wise manne, for I that am but a  
foole vnderstandeth it not. The empe-  
rour answered: O Salindo, bycause  
that yet at this time, Rome is not  
Rome, all though through al the world  
it be renouned Rome. In my selfe I  
finde far more assurance, that my chil-  
dren

2  
 ben beginne like pooze labourers, and  
 ende as ryche Emperours, than to  
 begyn as ryche emperours, and ende as  
 pooze squiers. Dooest not thou know  
 why Italy is now losse? They woulde  
 haue their children to be wantonly and  
 delicately nourished, and will not suffre  
 them to liue in strauayle, and to leaue  
 their heires pooze and nede, and theim  
 selfe to ende in great peryll. This aun-  
 swere was so excellent in fame, that it  
 was euer take for a prouerbe in Rome.  
 Whan this emperours doughters wer  
 of two yere olde, incontinent he prou-  
 ded women and maistresses for to tea-  
 che theim. Sertus Theronense saith,  
 that he searched amonge the aunciente  
 matrones of Rome, whiche were clea-  
 nest of life, most esteemed of good fame  
 of noblenesse of bloud, of sadde witte,  
 and that had ben most bled in brynging  
 vp of princes children. This emperour  
 was so thoughtfull in the orderynge and  
 teachyng of his children, that he would  
 haue no woman, but if she were of .l.  
 yere of age at the leaste, and .x. yere a  
 wydowe, and that she had nourished a  
 C. children, doughters of senatours.  
 Imaginyng, that she that had medled  
 in



# MARCVS

In so many thinges of other mens, shold  
not be ignorant in hir owne. After that  
he had prouided these maistresses, he  
caused his daughters to be brought to  
their houses, and there gaue them their  
charge. And from the byrth of any of  
his daughters, he woulde neuer consent  
that they shoulde come into his palays,  
till they should haue husbandes. It  
chaunced, that faustyne the Emperesse  
childed a daughter, and she beyng cer-  
tified, that it was lyke hir, and verie  
fayre, moued with a soft heart of wo-  
man head, and with a motherly affecti-  
on praised the emperour, that she sayde  
childe might bee nourished in hir pre-  
sence, sith every man saide, the childe  
was so fayre and so like vnto theim.  
The emperour answered and sayde.  
Faustin, for those thinges that all other  
haue saide to you, dooth it besme you,  
to demand this of me: But I that haue  
red in this case, and in other cases haue  
seene, in no maner I ought to condisc-  
rende therto, Doo you not know, that  
the tyme, that the daughter is nourys-  
shed in the house, the father is charged  
with thought, the mother with wan-  
son flatterynge, enuy in the byethern,  
bold

# AVRELIVS.

boldnesse in the daughter, and soly in  
the nourice. I would witte of you, if  
she were nourished in the house, what  
profiteth it, if hir maistresse teache hir  
ladnesse and honestee with hir wordes:  
and we entice hir to lewdenesse, wyth  
our woordes and deedes: what profi-  
teth it, if the daughter deserue chastise-  
ment, and the mother flatter and make  
hir wanton: More reason it were, that  
your daughter shoulde folow the good  
doynge of you, that are hir mother,  
than the wordes of the strange widow,  
that is hir maisters. Marke well Fau-  
stine, if ye ought to reioyse at hir chil-  
dishe toies. Remembre that the plea-  
sure of yonge children is but childes  
trifles. But if you nourished them not  
wel, as the pleasures wer ioyful whan  
they were yonge, so whan thei be old, to  
refrayne them, shal be greater displea-  
sure. Therefore, if you be vertuous, with-  
draue their iapping trifles, as now for  
them that shall be vertuous. I wyll  
tell you one thyng, I would rather my  
daughters in myne absence, shoulde be  
disciples to vertues, thā to be maistres-  
ses in lewdenesse in my presence. And  
if it is so, I desire you, require it not  
of

# MARCVS

of me. And I desire you, that it be not so. I am importune on you, that ye bee not importunate on me. I praye you, that you pray not me. Or els I commaunde you, that you demaunde it no moze of me. This harde answer of the father, ceased the importunitee and pitifull request of the mother. Thus Faustine, al feareful, seying the father with in the walles of Rome, durst not go see hir doughter without, but as pryncely as she might.

How Marcus the emperor byd chose and proued his sonnes in lawe. Cap. xi.



Like wise as Marcus Aurelius the emperor surmounted in vertues all mortal men, that died, so for certaine in marriage of his doughters, he seemed to bee kinne to the goddes that euer lyue: by the grace and gyfte of god, or by his fortune he was as happy in vertuous sonnes in law as greatly infortunate of dishonest dought.

AVRELIVS.

doughters. After the death of the good olde man, with the small thought of the prince his sonne in his gouernance, and vngoodly fame of his doughters in their liuyng, it semed to haue made and ende of the glorious memorie of the father, but if it were by the soueraygne goodnesse of his sonnes in law, that he hadde chose by his lyfe tyme. It is daily seene, that the losse of the father by euill children, is wonne by vertuous sonnes in law. Than Marcus Aurelius, in choosynge housbandes for his doughters, he tooke not of dyuers, that the vanitee of the worlde offered hym: but of a fewe, that of many folkes were esteemed to be of good behauioure, and that to his semyng were suche in deede. And as in mariages all the error is to couet goodes that be in the purse, and not to examyne the personne that is brought to the house, He regardynge this, married not his doughters to strange kynges, but to natural borne Senatonrs: not to suche as disceded from high lynnage, as were the Scipions, Fabricians, and Torquates: but to suche that with their vertues reysed newly good lynnages; For he married  
theim

M A R C V S.

them not to suche as were presumptuous of the prowes and deedes of theyr predecessours, but to them that resplendished by the deedes of their owne persons. No: of trouthe he chose none that were very riche, but suche as were vertuose: no: suche as were soone moued, but suche as were quiete: not the hygh mynded: but the moderate, that were no boisters, but shamesfast: no bablers, but small speakers: no quarellers, but sufferers: not to presumptuous, but them that wer meeke: not to hasty men but them that were patiente: not them that were esteemed amonge the commons, but them that deserued laude amonge wyse men. In thys manner he trusted no person, for he married not his daughters to such as wer praysed a farre of: but to them that of longa tyme had ben proued nere hands. In good faith hereth his reason was good. For in the thyng that toucheth a mans honoure, he that is wyse ought not to trust in the only informacion of straungers. No: he is not wise, that is so hasty to do al thinges by his owne seming and opinion. And he is but a simple person, that wpll dose all thyng after the  
opis

opinion of straungers . And in these  
 popntes the emperour Marcus hadde a  
 good respecte to kepe theim: In wal-  
 kyng good rest, In speakyng great elo-  
 quence, in eatynge good temperaunce:  
 In aunswering great subtilitee, In his  
 sententes and determinacios great gra-  
 uitee. And therefore in this case of ma-  
 riage he was ful of grauitee, till he was  
 therein determined . And this onely  
 came not of him but of other, whan thei  
 came to pray him . It befell that in a  
 feast of the god Janus, the Emperour  
 goyng to the campe of Mars, vpon a  
 lusty horse fierse and flingyng. he met  
 so rudely with a trüpettour, that cour-  
 sed as a knyght vpon a horse, that with  
 the stroke of metyng, the trumpettour  
 was ouerthrowen with his horse so that  
 he was slayne, and the emperours horse  
 legge broken, and his owne scote hurt,  
 and his arme out of ioynt, So greatly  
 encreased his hurt, that he was in peril,  
 Italy in heauynesse, and all Rome was  
 in doubt of his lyfe.

And bicause a fewe daies afoze that he  
 had comunication of a mariage for his  
 thirde doughter named Marrina, for  
 the determinacion that he shoulde hane  
 made

# M A R C V S.

made the same daie, greate sulte was made to him. But for the great peine of his arme, and the bloudde that was congeled in his body, and the anguysh that was at his heart, as for the demaunde that was offered him, he deferred the answer till an other day. The whiche day commen, in open presence he saied in this maner.

**W**hat the emperor Marcus saied to the father of a yonge man that would mary one of his daughters.  
Cap. xii.



ftentimes I haue seene in other, and haue proued by experience, that the smalle consideracion passed, and the greate acceleration in busynesses nowe presente, maketh greate inconueniences in time to come, ones that at that poynte the thyng be committed to the vertue of some wyse personne, rather than to hys owne sole oppinion. Neuerthelesse in the case of maryage, though the father bee wyse, yet without the opinion of an other,

AVRELIVS.

ther, he ought not to determine hym lightly: for enuious fortune, though she shew hie selfe somewhat frowarde in all thynges, yet in this case of marriage, she ouerthroweth moze than in all the other. He that will speake of marriage ought to entre into his owne secrettes, and to thynke profoundly thereon, as of a thyng that all his wealth lieth in, his credence, his life, his honour, his good fame, the reste of his owne personne and his fleshe, whiche is his childe. I am of opinion, that if al wyse men were molten in a furnayes, they coulde not gyue one good counsell to make a mariage. And would ye that I, whiche am simple, should doo it lightly by my selfe? Truly therein behoueth right and sadde counsell. For ones fallen into the peryll thereof, none maye haue remedie without greater peryll. The renoumed Marcus Porcius, whose living was a mirrour in his daies, and his wordes and counsels remayne for a remembraunce, saide open in the senate: O noble fathers and happy people, by the decrees openly proclaymed in places accustomed, I know that in a counsell and senate ye ordeyned three

5

thyn



## M A R C V S

thynges, that is, ye'ndertake to make  
a new warre agaynst the Parthes, to  
continew the enmittee agaynst the Pemi-  
ens, and to marve. v. C. matrones of  
Rome, to. v. C. knightes of Mauri-  
tany. And certaynely I am abashed,  
that amonge wise men so high affayres  
shoulde be so soone and sodaynly conclu-  
ded and determined. To satisfie myne  
vnderstandyng, and for the good wyll  
that I owe to the countrey, I shall saye  
one worde, that is, to begynne warre,  
and to pursue hatred and yll will, and  
to conclude mariages, In these causes  
a man ought to aske counsayle of all the  
men of the worlde, and all the goddes  
ought to correct and amende it. And  
x. C. counsaylynges woulde be holden  
vpon eche of these thynges. These wor-  
des were woorthy of great recommen-  
dacion. For one thyng by diuerse opi-  
nions ought to be determined: But ma-  
ny thynges by one opinion ought not to  
be determined. And if this bee for all  
thynges, it serueth than most speciall in  
mariages. My friendes, ye say that  
he that offereth hym to bee my sonne in  
lawe, is greatly despyred loued and well  
named amonge the common people.

**T**o sell suche marchandise, sette it not in so yll a shewe. The credence of an honest man lieth not among the common voice of the people, but among philosophers: not among many, but among fewe, not among how many, but what they be. We knowe your selfe, that at this houre al that the commons thinke is but a vaine thyng: that they praise is false: that they condemne is good, that they aproue, is nought, that they allow is shamefull, and finally all that they laude is but folly. Their praysyng beginneth with lightnes, their folowynge without order: and it endeth with surrie. Whow many haue I seene in Itas lie lyke the lies of wyne caste out of the senate, and after put as fyzebrendes of tauernes in Rome, by whose opinions the common wealth is gouerned, and with greate lightnesse men put downe, and with no lesse lyghtnesse exalted agayne. Beholde here, that the woorkes of the people are holde in mockage with wyse men: and that that is agreed among them, is esteemed but for vanities with wyse men. For that that is meale, with philosophers, is eaten but for byanne and chaffe with simple folke.

# M A R C V S

And contrary wise, the meale of the simple, is but bzanne and chaffe amonge wyle men. Of all that our predeceffors haue sifted, in these daies, the children of banitee worke ther after, for thei wil be desired, and hate to be hated. All suche holdeth a generall rule, that euery man that desireth to be beloued of euery man openly, cannot escape fro diuers secrete fautes. Shall I tell you, who is beste beloued nowe a daies? Than harken to me, and I wpll tell you, as muche as it toucheth to whome it may touche, hurte who it may hurte, feele it who that may feele it. The people loueth him that can dissimule with them and him that is nought, and enuious of theim that be good, and also suche as fauour liers, and setteth trouth a syde, and suche as accompanieth with man kylers and murtherers, and to be seruued of theues, and fauoureth quarellers, and pursueth suche as be peasible, deliuereth offenders, and sleeth innocentes, renoumeth theim that be shamfull, and shameth theim that be of good fame: Finally he is mosse sette by, that putteth theim that be good from him, & is the most vaine amonge them that be vayne

AVRELIVS.

bayne. Certaynely there is great sus-  
 pection to set him amonge wise men,  
 that is allowed of all fooles. And the  
 reason thereof is, that the commons  
 lightly love none but me that with ma-  
 lice restrayneth theym that be vertuous,  
 and letteth the raine slippe to them that  
 be vicious. Truly wise men haue him  
 as suspecte, that the commons desyre,  
 whiche will not be displeased with his  
 yll doynge. Whow often tymes doeth  
 the goddess permit the ambitious man  
 in honours, that procureth to do yll ma-  
 ny daies with out Justice, and doth not  
 behold the sodain hole losse therof with  
 shame? Than take this woorde of me,  
 that in the multitude of men there are  
 few to be praysed, and many to bee re-  
 prued.

How a son in law ought to be well  
 examined ere he be accepted to  
 his purpose. Cap. xiii.



Owe to come to our parti-  
 cular purpose. Ye amonge  
 you dese prayse thys yonge  
 man, and of his woorkes be  
 as your wordes, ye shoulde

# MARCVS

Not onely say, that he hath merited to  
 be my son in lawe, but rather meriteth  
 to be only inheritor of the hole empyre.  
 And therefore I woulde witte of you,  
 wherof you can prayse this your kyns-  
 man, that there be no contrarietee be-  
 twene his workes and your wordes.  
 If he be rusticall, it abateth him soze:  
 if he be of high blud, he wil be presump-  
 tuous: if he be riche, he will giue hym  
 to viciousnesse: if he be pooze, he will  
 be couetous: if he be valiant, he will be  
 ouerbolde: if he be a coward, he is de-  
 famed: if he be a great speaker: he shall  
 be a lier: if he be to littell a speaker: he  
 shall be noted as vnwise: if he be sayre  
 he wil be coueted: if he be foul, he wil be  
 ielouse. Than if he be quitte of all these,  
 I sweare to you, that I wyll geue hym  
 my doughter Matrine with al my hert  
 I do not sai this vnto you, bicause I sup-  
 pose any yll in your kynseman, but to  
 thentent that ye should thynke, that I  
 say it accordyng to my naturalitee.  
 And than sith I say it not agaynst your  
 credence, for the knowlage that yee  
 haue of him, mistake not my suspicion  
 syth that I am hole ignoraunte of this  
 younge mans liynge. And I wyl not  
 that

AVRELIVS.

that ye shoulde thynke, that the chyldre  
my daughter, that hath bene broughte  
bp in so great vertue in my palais, shuld  
bee marved to this younge man for the  
onlye same that he hath amonge the  
people. O howe often haue I seene in  
our tyme nowe, and haue redde in the  
worlde passed, the whiche as nowe by  
commaundement of the goddes, at an  
other tyme by their yll workes haue de-  
serued it, at an other tyme by theyr so-  
rowfull destenies haue permytted it,  
weenyng for to byyng sonnes in lawe in  
to their house, haue brought in a hell.  
In steede of wyse and fayre daughters,  
haue recovered adders. And seekyng  
sonnes, haue founde basilike serpentes:  
In byyng of bludde, popson deliuered:  
In sekynge friendes, thei haue found en-  
emies: In demandyng honour, shame  
hath be geuen: and finally in marryng  
theyr children, weenyng to haue liued  
merily, the sorowfull fathers haue had  
euill life and woorse death. And in  
case that suche ought to bee moued more  
of theim that be ioyous, than they that  
bene sorow, of theim that bene ioyous, as  
well ought we to approue the iuste cha-  
stisement of the iuste goddes, by the vn-

# MARCVS

iuste workes doen to iuste men. For he  
 deserueth great chastisement, that with  
 fearefull hardinesse as a foole, determi-  
 neth hym self in high and difficult thin-  
 ges with sodayn counsaile. And there-  
 fore my freendes, if ye be vertuous, bee  
 not abashed of that that I saye, nor  
 take the examinacion that I make in a  
 sleaunders: If I take this younge man  
 to be my sonne, to be son in law to Iaus-  
 tine my wife, husbände to my dought-  
 ter Matrine, brother to Commodus the  
 prince, felowe to theim of the senate,  
 kynseman to my kynsefolkes, and lorde  
 of my seruauntes: It is reason, that su-  
 che a robe ought well to be regarded,  
 si the that so many persons must weare  
 the liueray therof. The garment that so  
 many persons must weare, muste bee  
 wisely cutte, to content theim all.  
 Wee se naturally many thinges noisful  
 to vs, if it be nere vs, and yet not domi-  
 geable to vs ferre of. The sonne with  
 his shynynge beames doeth parche the  
 fleshe of the people of Ethiopie, bicause  
 it is nere vnto them: and contrary wise  
 it doeth no greefe to their persons that  
 inhabite in the ende of Europe: for by-  
 cause it toucheth theim a farre of.

There

# AVRELIVS.

There haue been diuers stones of Rome,  
which beyng in straunge countreyes,  
haue dooen greate profite to the com-  
mon welth, and no lesse famed throug-  
hout the worlde, whiche after they were  
retourned to their owne houses, haue  
spilte moze bloud of innocentes, than  
they had doen befoze of the Barbariens.  
And that it is sothe, demaunde of Ju-  
lius Caesar, of Pompeius, of Sylla, of  
Marcius, of Cassius, of Catilina, and of  
Lypulus, of Octavius, and Marcus  
Anthonius, of Caligula, and of Nero,  
of Othus, and Domicianus.

And as I say of so small a numbze of  
bastarde children, that helde Rome, I  
maye saye of diuers other tyzauntes  
brought vp in Italy. Beleue me in one  
thyng. Al that is agreable to vs abrode,  
agreeth not to vs, if we bring theim in  
to the house. For there goth many thin-  
ges betwene the entreating of a man in  
wordes, and to be long conuersant with  
him in woꝝkes. Littel nedeth humayne  
ignorance for to begyle an other, and  
yet lesse to be begyled of many an other.  
With a meke visage swete wordes in  
the tounge, good deliberacion in the  
person, temperance in the woꝝke every  
one



# MARCVS

one male begyle an other now a daies,  
 and by shewebnesse and malice, is bee-  
 giled him selfe. I saie to you, I beyng  
 a yonge man knew the famous oratour  
 Taurin propose diuers times in the se-  
 nate: And on a daie he spake for a Ro-  
 main matrone, which should haue ma-  
 rryed an honeste daughter of hirs to a  
 maister of horses, by seming a romain,  
 and not very well appoynted: and a-  
 monge other wordes he sayed: O noble  
 fathers, O happy people, command not  
 that thyng, that after warde ye woulde  
 were not commanded. An yll mariage  
 is lyke as he that shooteth a pellette of  
 duste, it hurteth him that it toucheth,  
 and blindeth theym that stande nerre.  
 Sothly these were hie wordes, and the  
 comparison well vnderstanden, containe  
 neth in it sentences of grauitie. It is  
 manifest to all men, that an yll sonne in  
 lawe is the death of the wyfe that hath  
 him, shame to the friendes that proce-  
 red it, and at the last an yll end for him  
 selfe, and for his father that offered it.  
 Than by all these thinges that I haue  
 said, ye may vnderstand, what I thinke  
 in this mariage. His saynges thus  
 ended, the Senate was greatly edified  
 there.

AVRELIVS.

therwith, and the knightes kinsfolke  
to this yong man, greatly abashed: and  
Faustine the emperesse sore confused, for  
by hir introduction the matter was  
moued. And how this mariage sayled,  
the historiens write not, whom we haue  
folowed in this worke.

**H**owe Marke the emperor fa-  
uoured all noble exercises, and  
hated trewandes and  
fooles. Cap. xliiii.



The vertues of this good  
emperour, and the know-  
lage of sciences, the wor-  
thinesse in armes, and  
the purenesse of hys ly-  
uynge, caused him to be  
named amonge the famous menne of  
Rome. The gentill conuersacion that  
he had with euery man, made him to  
bee renoumed amonge the worthiest  
of all the world. The thyng mooste agre-  
able without reprehencion of the grea-  
test, meane, and leaste is, that a lord  
and prince of many, be communicable  
and conuersaunte with many. All the  
good workes of good men may be con-  
demn

# M A R C V S

deniued with the yll intencions of them  
that bee yll: But the good condicions  
haue suche a priuilege, that of yll the  
good is praysed, and the good approueth  
the yll. In a mans liuyng, there is non  
so greate a vice, but by good conuersa-  
cion it is couered and hidde. And con-  
trary wise no crime is secreete, but with  
ill conuersacion, at the tyme that it har-  
teth, it is more openly knowen. Of two  
extremities it is not so greuous to the  
common welthe, a man to be weake  
and faynt in secretness, and of gentill  
conuersacion abrode, as it is of hym  
that is secret, and is rude and of yll con-  
uersacion openly. Wyuers not beyng of  
good order and policie, we haue seene  
conuersant a great while in Rome, on-  
ly for being wel conditioned. And many  
mo we haue seene, that in a short while  
after they were put in office, haue ben  
so proude and hasty in their condicions,  
that they haue ben depriued from theyr  
offices. And this we say bycause this  
good emperoz was so iolous of vsage,  
so amiable in his customes, so louynge  
in his conuersacion, that lightlye he  
would cast his armes aboute the necke  
and on the shoulders of them, and take  
theirs

A V R E L I V S .

them by the handes, that had any thing  
to doo with him. The porters shoulde  
not let theim that woulde accompanye  
him in the palais: nor his garde was  
not so hardy to putte a backe suche as  
woulde speake with him in the fieldes.  
In all his ages he applied to that that  
euery age gaue him by nature. He was  
a childe amonge children, yonge amōg  
yonge folke, worldely with theim that  
were worldely, good felow with good  
felowes, a baronne amonge baronnes,  
hardy with hardy men: and finally old  
with olde men. He was wonte to saye,  
whan any in his p:esce that wer yong  
and not well taught in their language,  
told at the debilitie of age, or olde  
men at the folp of youth: Leauē theym,  
sithe they leauē you. Many tymes of  
wysse yonge men cometh olde fooles.  
And of yonge fooles customably com-  
meth wysse olde men. Naturalite at  
the lasse maketh all thyng in kynde.  
As of great debilitie we can drawe but  
small strength, by our naturalite wee  
may for a tyme resist it, but not utterly  
mayster it. I am sore abashed, that  
some wyll be so lordely and valiant in  
vertues, and so highe minded, and yet  
will

M A R C V S.

wyll make vs beleue , that they ly-  
uynge in the fleshe, and beyng of fleshe,  
onely sele not the fleshe. I can not tell,  
if nature hath made other of an other  
nature than I am of , or me of an other  
nature than other be . For I beyng ne-  
uer so fast inclosed in the swete conuer-  
sation of philosophy , yea in the beste  
tyme , this false fleshe wyll call at the  
gate with his naughty fleshe.

The more that wee reisse and exalte vs  
with science and get libertees, the more  
lower we do put the fleshe with hir mi-  
series. Beleue me one thinge , that if a  
tree beareth not in tyme his flo-  
wers, we hope not to haue the fruite in  
haruest ripe : and a younge man that  
hath not passed his youth with yonge  
people, we haue no hope that he should  
passe his age with olde men . And as  
we may resist our naturalitee, and not  
cleaue for to doo it, so those fathers erre,  
that ar so extremely affectioned, to haue  
their children to beginne as olde men.  
Wherupon it foloweth , that they ende  
as yonge. This emperour was so wyse  
in all thynges, that amonge them that  
were mery, he was of great mirth.  
And in verities he was very veritable.

IN

# AVRELIVS.

In his pastimes he was greatly tempe-  
rate, and a louer of mulyke, specially  
in good voyce and instrumentes, and  
soze displeased yf he hard any dyscorde  
therein. He passed most of his youth in  
learnynge of sciences. Whan he came  
to mans estate, he exercysed feates of  
knyghtehode: he loued discipline and  
hated adulation. He was apt and hap-  
pie in armes, but yet in ryding of hores  
he hadde ofte tymes yll happe. In his  
younge age he deuyted to playe at the  
tennyes, and at the chesse in his age.  
He loued not these counterfaytyng plat-  
ers of farces and mummeries, and yet  
lesse trowandes, that been naturall foo-  
les, iuglers, and iesters, for pleasure.  
The players and iesters suffered great  
varietee in the empyre, accordyng to the  
diuersitee of emperours. Julius Caesar  
susteyned theim: Octavian his newe we-  
droue theim away: Calligula called the  
agayne, Cruell Nero banished theym,  
Nerua, made theim come again, Good  
Traian banished them out of all Italy,  
Anthoni Pius brought theim in again:  
And by the handes of this good emper-  
our Marcus Aurelius, they ended.  
And the occasion was, the Romaynes  
bid

M A R C V S.

did celebrate with great ioy, the .iiii. day  
of May, the greate feaste of the mother  
Bererpynte, mother of all the goddes.  
The sacred priestes flamines diales,  
would haue brought thither these min-  
strelles jugglers and iesters, for to re-  
ioyse the feaste, and contrary wyse the  
holy nunnnes bestales would haue done  
the same, so that variance fell betwene  
theym, some with force, and some with  
resistance, and some ranne thither in fa-  
uourynge of bothe parties, and not a  
few, to departe them. The cruell and  
great noyse of slaughter amonge them,  
was suche, that it tourned the feaste to  
weeppynge, the pleasures into sorowes  
and their songes into waylynge.  
This good emperour laboured to peace  
this furie of the people, and to set peace  
amonge the neighbours of Rome.  
Whan all was doen, he made curtiouse  
diligence to searche out all the plaiers,  
jugglers, and iestours of Rome, and in  
al the circuite of Italy, that thei, might  
bee chastised, and Rome deliuered of  
theim. And for example of al the world,  
he sent them to the gate of Hostie, and  
commaunded to sette them in Galies,  
and to banishe theim for euer, into the  
ples

# AVRELIVS.

yles of Delispont: whiche was accom-  
plished, as the emperour commaun-  
ded. And fro that date was neuer scene  
at Rome, iuggler or gester, as longe as  
the emperour liued. But it passed not  
two yeres after his death, but they re-  
toured, whan his sonne had the rule.  
And except the booke do lie, there was  
in Rome greater noubre of fooles  
than of wyle men.

**O**f the good conuersacion of  
this emperour Marcus Au-  
relius. Cap. xv.



We haue sayed of the  
hatred that this em-  
perour had to trewa-  
des, reuelers, getters,  
iugglers, iesters, and  
such other: Now wil  
we speake of his lau-  
dable exercises of the  
that came to him. To be well condicio-  
ned, the malice of mankind is so great  
that as good men are bounde to regarde  
the yll, so dooe they that be yll, regard to  
distrote the good. The trace of vertue  
is as good in good thinges, with theint  
that



# M A R C V S

that be good, as the vice and dishonesty of euill folkes, is in euill thynges.

What greater corrupcion in this world maie bee, than a vertuous person, for one worke of vertue, can not fynde one to helpe hym to worke it, and whan he alone hath wrought it, there cometh tenne thousand to gaine saie hym: The gretest goodnes of all goodnes is whan tyrannies are put vnder by vertues acquired: or to fynde remedy agaynst accustomed byces, with good inclynacions. And the greatest euill of all euils, is whan a person forgetteth that he is a man, puttynge reason vnder foote, straining his hande against vertue, and leatteth vice rule the bydel. This emperour Mar. Aurel. sustained in his lyfe great glory, in the eschewing the villany of byllaynes: no lesse merited he immortal memory, in suffering dyuers dishonesties in the execution of his vertues. In vnfallible rule it is, amonge the children of vanitee, to childe the vices of theim that be vicious. And the vertues wel incorporate, nourishe many enuious. They that be ill, bene alwaies double ill, bycause they beare armour defensive, to defend their owne vices

# AVRELIVS.

puel: and armes offensive, to assaile  
 the good maners of other. The trouthe  
 is, if good men be diligent to seke other  
 that be good, no lesse ought they for to  
 hide them from them that be yll: for a  
 good man with one finger, hath power  
 ouer all them that be vertuous, but for  
 to withstande one yll person, he hath  
 neede of handes feete and freendes.  
 And though fortune be yll to good men,  
 their owne propre fame shalbe spent as  
 of straungiers. This good Emperour  
 was strong in vertue, meke in wordes,  
 attemperate in his exercises, homely  
 with euery man, sad among sad men,  
 hasty among hasty men, mery with me-  
 ry men, and wise among wyse men, as  
 it is couenable for a curtiuous Prince to  
 be. And whan these are approued in the  
 lawe of good menne, by cleare vnder-  
 standyng, as well shal they be condem-  
 ned by theym that haue yll intencions.  
 Than as the coles can not be in the em-  
 bres withoute sparkes, nor corruption  
 of the carion without stench, no more  
 can he that hath a hole and clere hearte  
 be, without enforcyng him to vtter lo-  
 uynge wordes: And he that hath an yll  
 heart, alwaies ouercometh other with

# M A R C V S

wordes of malice. For it is certein, for  
 a small season the louer maie absteyne  
 his loue: and yet lesse time the payne of  
 him, that is payned with loue hidde.  
 The sorowfull sighes, shewe the hurte  
 of the herte, and the malicious wordes  
 discover the yll of the harte. We haue  
 sated all this, because that the bountee  
 of this good Emperour Marcus Aure-  
 lius, set all his ioy and gladnes in them  
 that wer good, and bewailed them that  
 wer yll. And as in semblable thynges  
 the woorthy men shew their woorthy-  
 nesse, and wisemen their wisdom, be-  
 yng vertuous in workyng, and wise in  
 knowlagedyng, were very wise in dissi-  
 mulyng. One of the vertues, that a wise  
 man ought to haue ( wherin he shall be  
 knowen as wyse ) is that he can suffre  
 well. For a man that can suffre well,  
 was neuer but wise and wel manered,  
 and therewith to suffre the vertue of yll  
 busynesse, is a thyng reasonable, of all  
 reasonable beastes, and of them that be  
 good, very good. And by contrary wyse,  
 the man that can not wel suffre, though  
 it be in very iust thynges, hopeth not to  
 be well treated. And likewise as this  
 Emperour Marcus in all vertues, hath  
 bene

AVRELIVS.

beene egall with all the Emperours of  
 Rome, that haue beene, in this vertue  
 of sufferaunce, he hath surmounted all  
 them of the worlde. He was woonte to  
 say many tymes, I haue not atteigned  
 to the Emperre, by the sciences that I  
 haue learned of the philosophiers, but  
 by the patience, that I haue had with  
 them that wer froward and not lerned.  
 And this seemeth to be true, for oftentimes  
 this emperour: beyng with the Senate  
 at Collisee, or the Senate with him  
 in the highe Capitoll, he seeyng in hys  
 presence diuers that preised him, and o-  
 ther, that in his absence among the peo-  
 ple blamed him, and rebuked him,  
 his attemperance yet was so great,  
 and shewed him selfe so iust with  
 one and other, that neither his  
 freendes, that agreeth with  
 him, were sorowfull, nor  
 his ennemies, for any  
 disfauour, wente  
 away complay-  
 nyng and  
 angrie.

## MARCVS

**O**f the feaste that the Romaynes kepte to  
the God Jano in Rome, and what  
chaunced to the sayd emperour  
there. Capitulo.xvi.



**A**mong the solempne  
feastes, that the an-  
cient Romayns had  
invented was one of  
the god Janus, kept  
the fyrst daye of the  
yere, which as now  
is the first day of Ja-  
nuar: He was peincted with two face.  
to shewe, that it was the last day of the  
yere passed, and the beginnyng of the  
newe yere. To this God, was dedicate  
a sumptuous temple in Rome: whiche  
temple Numa Pompilius, called it the  
temple of peace. And excepte the tem-  
ple of Jupiter, it was holden in moste  
reuerence of all other. Whan the Ro-  
main emperour went or came to Rome  
to visite the highe Capitoll, and the ve-  
stall virgins, sooer thwith they went to  
pray, worship, and to offer at the tem-  
ple of Janus. The daye of celebracion  
of the sayde feaste, all Rome reioysed,  
and

# AVRELIVS.

and put on theim the beste clothes that  
thei hadde, byrennyng great lightes in  
euery house, and made many plaies of  
enterludes, of gesses and iuglyng, and  
watched all night in the temples, and  
deliuered all the prysoners that were in  
prison for det, and payed the debtes with  
the common treasure. They had tables  
with meate befoze their doozes, in such  
aboundaunce, that more was left than  
eaten, wherwith all the poore folkes in  
Rome were releued. The Romaines  
thought, that what so euer they spent  
that daie, that the god Jano (whiche  
was god of tymes) wold rewarde theim  
double. The Romaines saied, that this  
god Janus was not unkinde nor no ni-  
garde, for yf they spent a lyttell, he  
wolde reconpence theim with a greate  
deale. At this feast was made great  
processions, euery sort of people by them  
selse, the senate went a parte, the prie-  
stes a parte. The Censores aparte, the  
Plebeines aparte, The matrones and  
younge maides by theim selse, and the  
ambasadors went in procession with  
all the captiues and prysoners. Thus  
they went euer two and two: the ende  
of one company, was the begynnyng of

# M A R C V S

an other, And thus out of the temple  
 Janus, they wente about all the tem-  
 ples of Rome, and so out of Porte las-  
 tine, into the fieldes, and rounde about  
 the walles of Rome. And bycause the  
 circuite of Rome was great, the proces-  
 sions went but from one gate to an o-  
 ther, so that towarde night, all the pro-  
 cessions of Rome had gone euerych one  
 in their company about: and that done  
 thei retourned all into the temple, that  
 they came out of, and there offered eche  
 one as they might. And in the sayde pro-  
 ceptions it was of custome, that the em-  
 perours wente accompanied with the  
 senatours: But this good emperour  
 was so familiar, that he would honour  
 and accompany euery man. It was ac-  
 customed in Rome, that the sayde daie  
 the emperour shoulde were on his robe,  
 and mantell imperiall. And all pryso-  
 ners and captiues that might touche  
 him with their hande, were deliuered,  
 and al trespassours were pardoned, and  
 banished folke were forgeuen, and cal-  
 led againe. And this emperour to vse  
 his clemency, and to leaue after hym  
 perpetuall memorie, left the procession  
 of senatours, and without any garde,  
 went

# AVRELIVS.

went the procession with prisoners and captiues. The whiche doyng was occasion to leaue behinde him perpetuall memory of him selfe, and great example of clemencie and lowlynesse to the princes for to come. Howe be it there is nothyng so well doone of theim that be good, but forthwith it shall bee contraryed of theim that bee ill : And therefore this example was so much dispraised of theim that were yll, as praysed and allowed of theim that were good. And in lyke wyse as amonge theim that be good, there is one noted to bee pure good, so amonge theym that be ill, there is one noted to bee right yll. And that worse is, that the vertuouse person esteemeth not the glozy of his vertue so gret, as the malicious person by his malice is shamed. This is saied, bicause there was a senatour in the senate, named Fuluius, which was as blacke by his malyce, as whyte by his heares. He laboured sore in the daies of Adrian to haue bene emperour, and had Marcus alwaies as competitour. And as it is a naturall thyng to theim that haue yll heartes, to shew their malice in small thynges, so this emperour dyd neuer no  
good



# M A R C V S

good thyng openly, but this Fulufus  
woulde grudge thereat secretly. And  
though this Emperour was greattely  
praised for the delyueryng of prysoners,  
yet the saied Senatour coulde not haue  
the prudence to suffre it, and so parte  
in mockery, and parte in earnest, he said  
these wordes to the emperour in the se-  
nate: Why geuest thou thy selfe to all  
men?

**H**ow Marcus the emperour  
answered a senatour in  
the senate. Cap. xvi.



He emperour Marcus au-  
relius hering what the se-  
natour had said to him, in  
the presence of the sena-  
tors, that is to wit, wher-  
fore he gaue him to al me,  
He answered, freende, I geue me to all  
men, because al men geue theim to me,  
& are glad of me. Beleue me, that ouer  
great rigour in a pryncer causeth hatred  
of the people. The goddes will not, nor  
the lawes permit not, nor the agrement  
of the comon welth will not suffre, that  
prynces be lordes ouer many, and to ac-  
company

AVRELIVS.

company but with a few. I haue red  
in bokes, and haue proued it by my self,  
that the loue of subiectes, the suertie of  
the prince, the dignitie of the Emperre,  
and the honour of the Senate, doo con-  
serue the prince, not with rigour, but  
with gentle conuersation. The fisher  
goeth not to take dyuers fyshes of the  
riuer with one bayte: nor the Mariner  
with one nette entreth into the sea. I  
promyse you the depenence of good wil-  
les ought to be wonne with the depe-  
nence of the hert, some with gistes, some  
with wordes, some with promises, and  
some with fauoures. The insatiate co-  
uetous men are neuer content, nor wil  
open their affection, but locke vp theyr  
treasures. And suche as serueth for  
loue, are lesse contented with openyng  
of their treasure, than lockyng vp theyr  
willes. It is an olde prouerbe of Py-  
thagoras: Loue is payed with other  
loue. O how yll fortune it is to a prince  
and how vnhappy it is to a common  
welth, whan the people serue not their  
Lordes, but for rewardes, and the lor-  
des to kepe and maintein theim, but for  
theyr seruice. With diuers stoanes and  
one cymment, buildyng is reised, and of  
diuers

# MARCVS

diuers men , and one lord, is composed  
a common welth. And if Geometrie be-  
gyle me not, the mortar that ioygneth  
one stone with an other, ought not to be  
medled with sande and flected lyme by  
reason. Separate the stoanes, and the  
wall openeth, and let the ciment fayle,  
and the edifice falleth. He that is wise,  
may wel vnderstand me. Loue betwene  
neighboures suffereth to bee mitigate  
with water : but it is requisite, that the  
loue of the pzince and his people bee  
pure. Diuers troubles, and at dyuers  
times, I haue seen among the common  
people of Rome in one day moued and  
appeased : but one discorde repyled be-  
twene the lord and the common welth,  
vnto the death, is neuer accorded . It is  
a difficle thing to make appoyntment  
of many with many, and more difficle,  
to accord one with an other. But with-  
out comparison, more harder it is, to a-  
posnet diuers with one , than one with  
diuers. And in this case I will not save  
the pzince, nor leaue the people uncon-  
demned. Fro whence ( as ye thinke ) co-  
meth it now a daies , that lordes wyth  
annoiance commaunde vniust thynges  
and in iust thynges the subiectes are vn-  
obey

obediente: Now here me, and I shall tell you. The prince doyng a thyng in deede and not of right will confounde the wyll of euery man, and belecue his owne vnderstandynge, and drawe of him selfe and all other his onely wyll.

Contrary wyse, the multitude of the people dispraysynge their lordes vnderstandynge, do as they will, not as al will but as euery man desireth him selfe.

Of trouth it is a greuous thyng, although it bee greatly accustomed, to will, that all gounes should be mete for one man, and that one mannes harneis should be mete to all men. Than what shall we doo, that our fathers haue left thus in the worlde, and also wee holde that wee be their chylzen, and that worse is, we leaue the same to our heyres: O how many princes of my predecessours haue I red of, that haue beene lost in shewyng them selfe ouerstrange, and beloued of none: I wyll tell you of some of them for exammples, that I haue red in my booke, to the entente that princes may see what they winne by amiable conuersacion, and what they lose by ouermuch straungenesse. In the realme of Assyriens, greater in armes than

M A R C V S.

than the Caldeens, and lesse in aduantage and antiquitie than the Assyriens: One maner forme of kinges endured among them two hundzed and twentie yeres, by reason they were of lowable conuersacion. And a nother fourme and maner (as Homer saieth) lasted but. xl. yeres, because their kynges were of an yll condiction. And the. ix. Epiphanes of the Egipcians was bnnubzed and put downe, because there was a lawe, that eche one should be bare legged in the temples vpon the holy daies. And this kyng on a day ridynge came before the God Apis, god of the Egipcians, the whiche thyng was not suffered, for beside that he was put out of this realme, he was chastised. Also the. vi. Arfacidauell the inuincible kyng of Parthes, not onely was depriued, but also banished out of his realme, because he dined at a knightes bydale, and woulde not eate at the bydale of a communer. Yet also though the realme of Italy was scant, their heartes were greate: for because one of their Marranes, for so were their kynges called, had shutte his gates by nighte, for to sleepe the suerlier, he was depriued of his realme: because  
a lawe

A V R E L I V S .

a lawe was made, that no prince should  
 shette his gates night nor daie: for they  
 saied, they had made him kynge for to  
 dyue a waie their ennemies, and not  
 to be daintily nourished. Tarquyne  
 the last kyng of the Romaines was vn-  
 kynde to his father in lawe, diffamed  
 his blood and kynrede, was a traytour  
 to his countrei, cruel of his person, and  
 aduoutrer with Lucrece: but for all  
 that he was not called vngentill, nor  
 infamed, nor traitour, nor cruell, nor  
 aduoutrer, but he was named Tarquin  
 the proude, bycause he was of ill con-  
 ditions and complexions. And yet by  
 the lawe of good men, I sweare to you,  
 that yf the saide unhappie Tarquyne  
 had had good will in Rome, for the ad-  
 voutrie of Lucrece he had not be put out  
 of his realme, for as muche as other  
 greater and more greuous harmes had  
 bene done befoze his time, and also mu-  
 che worse sithen by aged emperours in  
 the empyre, the whiche crimes by them  
 commytted were suche, that the offence  
 of this frayle yonge man was but small  
 in estimacion. For thynge certayne these  
 princes holde, that if they geue diuers  
 occasions for their ill will, yet a littell  
 thynge

# M A R C V S.

thyng suffiseth if he shew, that the hate that he hath is for none ill will: but the hate that the subiect hath to the lord, because he hath no power.

**C** Julius Caesar, the last dictatour and fyrst emperour, because he forgot to bee a man among men, but thinking to be a god among gods, being a laudable custome, that the senate should salute the emperour on theyr knees, and the emperour to rise curteisly against them: because of a presumptuous mind, he wold not kepe the ceremonie, he merited to lese his life with. xxiij. strokes of penknives. And as I saye of these so few a numbre, I maie saie of many other. The phisicians with a littell Rubarbe purge many humours of the body, and the emperour with a little beneuolence taketh many greues fro the stomackes of his subiectes. The people owe obedience to the prynce, and to do his person great reuerence, and fulfil his commaundementes, and the prynce oweth equal iustice to every man, and meke conuersacion to all men.

**M**arcus Portius saide diuers times in Rome: That the publike welthe is there perpetuall and without any so dainge

# AVRELIVS.

balne fall, where the prynce fyndeth  
 obedience, and all the people fyndeth  
 loue with the prynce. For of the loue  
 of the lord, breedeth the good obedyence  
 of the subiecte, and of the obedience of  
 the subiect, breedeth the good loue of  
 the lord. The emperour of Rome is  
 like to a spyder, that is in the myddes  
 of hir webbe. For if the sayde copwebbe  
 be touched with the poynt of a nedell,  
 forthwith the spider feleth it. I meane  
 that all the woozkes of the emperour in  
 Rome ben streight waie knowen in all  
 the earth. I beleue that this daie I  
 haue ben iudged of humain malice, for  
 accompaniing the proceesion of the cap-  
 tiues, and that I suffered them to tou-  
 che me, that they might enioy the pry-  
 uiledge of lybertee. I yelde and geue  
 great graces to my goddes of my good  
 hadde, because they haue made me pi-  
 tisfull for to deliuer prisoners, and not  
 cruell as a tyraunte for to make theym  
 bonde that be free. The prouerbe saith:  
 One snare maie take two byrdes: So  
 it hath bene this daie, for that benefyte  
 rebounded onely to the miserable pry-  
 soners, but the fauour, to all their na-  
 tions, And haue ye not know, that by  
 I the



# M A R C V S

the taking away of their pꝛons, I haue  
drawen to me the heartes of all their  
realmes & countreis: Finally it is more  
sure to a pꝛince to be serued with fre her-  
tes, & loue of them that be at libertee, thā  
of subiectes constrained with feare.

**H**ow the emperor Marcus deuised  
the howses of the daie for the busi-  
nesses of the empyre. Ca. xviii.



Er before wee haue  
shewed howe this  
good emperor had  
greate hatred of me  
that wer of ill living,  
and that passed their  
time in ill exercise. It  
suffiseth not the phi-  
losopher to reprove the vice of other by  
word, but it is necessary that he doe the  
work that he requyrez other to do. It  
is also now to shew, how this eperour  
by his gret pꝛudence compassed & dispat-  
ched the great and huge businesses of the  
empire, the particlarities of his hous-  
hold, the recreation of his person, the ex-  
ercise of his studies, the infinite reason-  
ning with one an other, with such peyn  
takynge,

# AVRELIVS.

takyng, and in so short time. He was so apte and wel aduised, that by him there was no tyme ill spent, nor neuer fayled to dispatche the businesse of the empyre. And because the tyme is glorious of him that gloriously spendeth it, and the tyme is accursed, that to our damage and without profite to other passeth, leauynge vs ignorant as brute beastes: He departed the tyme by tymes, the order whereof was thus. Seven houres he slept in the night, and rested one houre in the day: At diner and supper he wasted but only two howres: he deputed two howres for the mattiers of Asie: Other two howres for the busynesse of Europe and Affrike: and in conuersation of his house, and with his wife and childzen seruantes and frendes that came to se him, he spent other two howres: And for the outwarde busynesse, as to here the complayntes of them that were greeued. The suites of poore men wanting iustice to widowes, the robberies and pickers, of mychers, and vacaboundes, he deputed an other houre. All the rest of the day and night readyng of bookes, to write workes, to make meters, to study antiquities: to

# M A R C V S

practife with wife men , to dyspute a-  
 mong Philosophers, he passed thus or-  
 dinately in wynter : And in sommer if  
 cruell warres leatted him not, or that  
 he were troubled with greate and hey-  
 nous matters, he went euer to bedde at  
 fy. of the clocke, and awoke at. iiii. It  
 was of custome, that Emperours had  
 euer lightes brennyng in their chaum-  
 ber. And therfore when he awoke, be-  
 cause he would not be ydle, he had euer  
 a booke at his beddes hed. And thus in  
 readyng he spent the rest of the nyght,  
 tyll it was day. He arose at. vi. of the  
 clocke, and made him ready openly, not  
 angrely, but merelie: he would demaude  
 of them that were presente, how they  
 had spent all the night time. And there  
 he woulde reherse what he had red that  
 night. Whan he was readie, he woulde  
 washe his handes with very well smel-  
 lyng waters: for he was a greate louer  
 of all swete odours. He had a good and  
 a quicke smellynge. Than in the morn-  
 nyng befoze euey man, he would take  
 iii. or. iiii. morselles of electuarie of Sti-  
 cados, and two draughtes of Aqua vite.  
 After that in sommer he woulde gooe  
 soorþ with a foote to the riuer side, and  
 ther

# AVRELIVS.

there passe the tyme the space of twoo  
howres. And assoone as the heate came,  
he would go to the highe Capitoll to the  
Senate. That doent he weente to the col-  
ledge, where as all the procurours and  
ambassadours of all prouynces were,  
and there he wold be a great part of the  
dase, and heare euery nacion by it selfe,  
acordyng to the tyme that was depu-  
ted by order. And towarde the euenyng  
he would goe to the Temple of the byr-  
gins Vestales. He eate but ones a dase,  
and that was somewhat late, and than  
he woulde make a good meale, & but of  
fewe meates. He had a custome euery  
weeke in Rome, or other citites, where  
as he was, that two daies late in the e-  
uenyng he would walke in the strectes  
withoute his garde or knightes, onely  
with. x. or xii. pages, to see if any per-  
son woulde speake with him, or com-  
playne of any officer of his courte and  
house, and this he caused to be deman-  
ded of other men. This good emperour  
woulde oftentimes say: A good pryncce  
that wpll rule and gouerne well, & not  
to be a tyraunt, ought to do thus: That  
is, that he be not couetous of tributes,  
nor proude in his commaundementes,

# MARCVS

no2 vnkind to seruices, no2 bolde in the temples, no2 dese to here complayntes. In fullfyllinge hereof he shall haue the goddess in his handes, and the heartes of men shal be his. All the while that this Marke was emperour, he had neuer porter at his chambze doze, but if it were the two howzes that he was with Faustyne his wyfe. This good emperour had in his house a secret closet locked with a key that he bare hym selfe, and neuer trusted none other therewith to the houre of his death. And than he commaunded to deliuer it to Pompeiano, a prudent auncient baron that was married to his daughter: In the whiche closed he had diuers bookes writte in all languages, as Greke, Hebreu, Latine and Caldee, and other antike histories.

**T**he aunswere of Marke the emperour, whan Faustine his wyfe demaunded the key of his study. Cap. xix.

**A**S it is naturall to women to dislike that thing that is giuen them vnasked, so it is death to them to be denaied of that they do demaunde. This emperour had the study or closet of

AVRELIVS;

of his house in the most secrete place of his palais, wherin he neyther suffered his wyfe, seruaunt, nor frend to enter. On a day it chaunced, that Faustyne the emperesse desyred importunately to see that study, sayng these wordes.

My lord, leat me see your secrete chamber. Beholde I am greate with childe, and shall die, if I see it not. And ye knowe well, that the lawe of the Romans is, that nothyng shall be denied to women with childe, of that they desyre. And if ye do other wyse, ye do it in dede, but not of right.

For I shall die with the childe in my body. and more ouer I think in my mind, that ye haue some other louer within your study. Therefore to put awaie the perill of my trauaylyng, and to assure my heart from Ielousie, it is no great thyng to leat me entre into your studie. The emperour, seeyng that Faustines wordes were of trouth, and bycause he sawe hir wordes washed with weeping, aunswered hir on this wise: It is a thyng certayne, whan one is contented, he saith more with his tounge, than he thynketh with his hearte. And contrary wise, whan one is heauy, the even

# MARCVS

Wepe not so muche, nor the tounge can  
not declare that is locked in the heart.  
Wayne men with bayne woordes shew  
and declare their vaine pleasures: And  
the wise men with prudente woordes,  
dissemble their cruell passions. Among  
wise men he is wyldest, that knoweth  
much, and sheweth to knowe but lye-  
tell: And among the symple, he is most  
symple, that knoweth but litle, and  
sheweth hym selfe to knowe muche.

They that are prudent, though they are  
demaunded, say nothyng: but symple  
folke will speake ynough without as-  
kyng of any question. This I saie Paul-  
line, because thy wepyng hath so hurt  
me: and thy vaine speche so tourmented  
me, that I can not declare that I fee-  
le, nor thou canst not feele that that I say.  
Diuerse aduertisementes haue thei wri-  
ten, that haue wrytten of mariage, yet  
haue they not wrytten, howe many tra-  
uailes that one woman causeth hir hus-  
bande to suffer in one daie. Of a suretie,  
it is a ioyfull thyng to reioyce in the  
childhode of children, but it is a ryght  
cruell thyng to suffre the importunities  
of their mothers. The childerne do now  
and then a thyng that turneth vs to ple-  
sure

AVRELIVS.

sure, but ye women do nothing but geue  
 vs displeasure. I shall agree with all  
 marved men to pardon theyr childrens  
 pleasures, for the annoyauce that the  
 mothers geue to theim. One thyng I  
 haue seen, the which neuer begyled me,  
 that the iuste goddes do geue to the vn-  
 iuste men, that all the yuels that they  
 do in this worlde, shalbe remitted to the  
 furies of the other worlde: But if they  
 do commit any sinne for the pleasure of  
 any woman, the goddes commaunde,  
 that by the handes of the same woman,  
 we shall receiue payne in this worlde,  
 and not in the other. There is not so fi-  
 ers or perillous an enemy to a man, as  
 is his wyfe. And though a man can not  
 lyue with hir as a man. I neuer sawe  
 none so light, being with a vicious wo-  
 man, in doing vice, but that by the same  
 woman at the laste he receyued shame  
 and chastisement: Of one thyng I am  
 sure, and I saie it not because I haue  
 sene it, but experimeted in my selfe, that  
 though the husband do al that his wyfe  
 wyll, yet will shee doe nothing that hir  
 husbände wolde haue done. Great cru-  
 eltee is among the Barbariens to holde  
 their wiues as sclaues: And no lesse  
 madnesse



# M A R C V S

madnes is it of Romaines, to kepe them  
as ladies. If she ought not to bee so  
lcane, that it abhorre: noz so fatte that  
it close the stomacke: but meane and en-  
terlarded, to the ende that it be sauory:  
I saie that a wyse man can not geue so  
strong a bydel to his wyfe, that she wil  
obey as an hand mayden: noz geue hir  
so littell of the bydell, but she will ex-  
alte hir selfe as maistresse and ruler.

Beholde Faustine howe ye women are  
so extreme in all headlong extremities,  
that with a littell fauour ye wyll exalt,  
augment, and grow into great pryde: &  
with a little disfauour, ye reconer great  
hatred. There is no perfecte loue, where  
is no egalitee betwene the louers. And  
as ye and other are vnperfyte, so is your  
loue vnperfite. I wot wel ye vnderstand  
me not. Therefore vnderstand Faustine,  
that I saie more than ye wene. There  
is no woman, that with hir will wolde  
suffre any greater than hir selfe: noz to  
be contente to haue an other egall with  
hir. For though she haue a .xx. li. rent,  
yet she hath .x. s. folies in hir heade.  
And that worse is, though it chaunce  
hir husbände to die, and she lese all hir  
rent, yet endeth not hir folishnes. Ber-

ken

# AVRELIVS.

ken to me, and I shall tell to you more.  
 All women woulde speake, and haue al  
 other to be still : they woulde gouerne,  
 and be gouerned of none other . One  
 thyng they desyre, that is to see, and to  
 be seene. And suche as be light in solo  
 wyng their lightnes, they hold as their  
 subiectes and slaues, and suche as be  
 wyle, and reproue their appetites, they  
 persue as ennemies . In the annales  
 Pompeiens, I haue found a thyng wor  
 thy for to be knowen, and that is: whan  
 Gnee Pompeie passed into the oriente  
 on the mountaynes Rissees, he founde a  
 maner of people, called Masagetes,  
 whiche had a lawe, that euery inhabi  
 taunt or dweller should haue two ton  
 nes, or fattes, because there was lacke  
 of houses in the sayd mountaynes: In  
 one was the housbande, the sonnes and  
 men seruantes: and in the other the wife  
 the daughters and maydens.

¶ On the holpe daies they dyd eate to  
 gether, and ones in the weeke they lay  
 together. Whan greate Pompey had  
 questioned the cause of their luyng in  
 that maner, for that he neuer saw nor  
 knew a more extreme thyng in all the  
 worlde, One of them answered: Pompey

# MARCVS

peſe beholde, the goddes haue giuen vs  
but a ſhort life, for none of vs may lyue  
aboue. lx. yeare at the moſte, and thoſe  
yeares we trauaile to liue in peace.

And in hauyng our wiues with vs ſtill  
in companie, we ſhould liue euer dy-  
yng, for we ſhould paſſe the nightes in  
hearing their cōplaintes: and the daies  
in ſufferyng their brawlinges and ch-  
dynges. In keepyng theym this wiſe  
from vs a parte, they nourish their chil-  
dren more peaſible, eſche wyng the noi-  
ſes that ſleeth the fathers.

¶ I tell thee Fauſtine, that though wee  
call the Maſagetes barbariens, in thys  
caſe they be wyſer than the Romaines.  
One thyng I wil tel you Fauſtine, and  
I pray you marke it well. If the beaſt-  
ly mouyng of the fleſh enforced not the  
will of man to doo his luſt, and that he  
would not deſire women, I doubt whe-  
ther women woulde ſuffre it or loue it  
the leſſe. Of trouthe if the Goddes had  
made this loue voluntarie, as it is na-  
turall, that is, as we would we might,  
and not as we wold and may not: with  
greate peine a man might be ſatiſfied,  
though he ſhould loſe him ſelfe for anye  
woman. It is a great ſecrete of the god-  
des,

# AVRELIVS.

des, and a great misery to man, that the  
fainte and weake fleshe doeth force the  
hert, which should be free, to loue that  
it abhorreth, and to alowe that that do-  
mageth. This is a greate secrete, that  
men can fele it euery houre as men: and  
yet by discrecion may not remedie it.

I enute not the liuyng goddes, nor the  
men that be dead, but for two thynges,  
and thry been these: The goddes lyue  
without feare of theim that be malici-  
ous, and they that be dead are in peace  
without nede of women. The ayze is so  
corrupte, that it corrupteth euery man  
with two pestilent plagis so deadly, that  
the flesh and the heart endeth. O Fau-  
stine, is the loue of the flesh so naturall  
that whan the fleshe fleeth scornfullie,  
we should leaue the true heart as cap-  
tiue? And the reason as reason put hir  
to flight, the fleshe as flesh forthwith  
yeldeth her to you as ouercome.

**T**he Emperour reherceth the perilles  
of them that hatint women ex-  
cessiuely. Cap. xx.

**T**he emperour folowynghis pur-  
pose declareth the vniuersall do-  
mages, that come to man by ouer  
much

M A R C V S.

muchē conuersacion and hauntyngē of  
women. And after he had tolde some  
particular cases that he had suffered  
with faustīn his wife, he saied: I am  
wel remembred, that in my yong age I  
solowēd the fleshe to muchē, with pur-  
pose neuer to retorne. And therfore I  
confesse, that yf I had good desires in  
one day in steede therof, a .xx. daies I  
wrought yll. It is reason, that ye wo-  
men flee from them that flee from you:  
to hyde you from theim that hide theim  
fro you, to leue them that leaue you, to  
separate you fro theym that separate  
them fro you: to forget theym that for-  
get you. For some scape fro your handes  
yl lamed and effeminate: and other are  
hurt with your tonges, many ben perse-  
cuted with your woozkes, and the bet-  
ter to scape free, they come away abhor-  
red of your hertes, and bounde to youre  
lightnesses. Than who that feelethe  
this, what getteth he by the attaynyngē  
therof? O to howe many perilles of-  
fereth he him selfe, that with women is  
greatly conuersant? If a mā loue them  
not, they counte hym as a byllaine: yf  
he loue them, they thynke hym lyght:  
yf he leaue them, they repute him for a  
coward

A V R E L I V S.

towarde : if he folow them , he is losse :  
if he serue theim, he is not regarded : if  
he serue theim not , he shall bee hated of  
them : if he will haue theim , they wyl  
not haue him : if he despyze theim not,  
they wyl seke on him : if he haunt them,  
he is yll named : if he haunt theim not,  
thei reckon him no man. What shall  
the unhappie man doe ? Leat men take  
this for certayne, that though the hous-  
band do for his wife all that he can dooe  
as a man, and that he ought to doe as a  
husbande, and with his weakenesse doe  
the beste that he can, for to fynde reme-  
dy agaynst pouertee with his trauayle,  
and put him selfe in daungier for hir e-  
uery houre, all this shall not please his  
wyfe, nor make hir the better, but she  
wil saie, that the traytour loueth other,  
and that all that he dooeth , is onely to  
accomplishe his pleasure on them.

Many daies ago Faustine, I haue wil-  
led to tell the this , but I haue differred  
it till now, hoppinge that thou woldest  
geue me occasion to tell it the : the whi-  
che longe agoe thou haste caused me to  
feele. It is no point of wise men , that  
for euery tyme they are annoyed wyth  
their wines, forthwith to hurte them  
wyth

M A R C V S.

with wordes. For amonge wise men  
the saied wordes are most esteemed, when  
they are well appropried and saied to  
good purpose. I do bethynke me, that  
it is .vi. yere sith Anthony Die thy fa-  
ther did choose me to his sonne in lawe,  
and thou me to thy housbande, and I  
the for my wyfe: this my fatall destenie  
did permitte, at the commaundements  
of Adrian my lord. My father in lawe  
gaue the his sayre doughter to me for  
wyfe, and the very sad and ponderouse  
empyre in mariage. I trowe we were  
all begyled: He to take me for his sonne,  
and I to choose thee for my wyfe.

He was named Anthony Dius, because  
he was pitifull of all thynges, saue vn-  
to me, to whom he was cruell, for in a  
littell fleshe he gaue me manye bones:  
and to saie the trouth, I haue no teethe  
to gnaue it: nor no heat in my stomacke  
to dygest it: and many tymes I haue  
thought my selfe losse with it.

For thy beautie thou were desired of  
many, but for thyne euyl condicions  
thou were abhorred of all.

O how vnhappy ben thy destenies Jan-  
tine, and howe euyl haue the goddes  
prouided for the. They haue geuen the  
beauty

AVRELIVS.

beautie and riches for to vndooe the,  
and they haue denyed and refused to  
thee the beste, that is good condicions,  
qualyte and wysedome to maynteyn  
theim. I say to the agayne, that the god-  
des haue bene veray cruell to the, sythe  
they addressed the to the whyzlepoole,  
where as all ill folke peryshe, and haue  
taken from the, the sayles and oores,  
whereby all good folke escape.

The. xxxviii. yerres that I was with-  
oute a wife, seemed not to me. xxxviii.  
daies: and the .vi. yerres that I haue  
ben married, seeme to me. vi. hundred ye-  
res. I will assure the one thyng, that  
yf I had knowen before, that I knowe  
nowe, and had felt than, that I feele at  
this howre, I wold say an other thyng.  
And though the goddes wold comaunde  
me, and Adrian my maister wolde com-  
maunde me, I wolde not chaunge my  
pouertee and quietnes, for the mariage  
of the and the empyre. But I haue de-  
syrred the in thy good fortune, and my  
selfe to myne yll fortune. I haue saied  
but a lyttell, and haue suffered a greate  
deale: I haue feined a great while, but  
I can feyne no longer. No man suffe-  
reth his wife so muche, but he is bound



# M A R C V S

to suffre more. Lette a man, that is a man consyder, and likewise a woman that is a woman consyder, what bolde-  
nes she is of, that quarelleth with hir  
housbande, and that he is a foole that  
bratoleth openly with his wife. For if  
she be good, he ought to fauour hir, that  
she may be the better: if she be a shrew,  
he muste suffre hir, that she ware not  
woyse. Euery man knoweth, that all  
thynges suffereth chastisement saue a  
woman, whiche (as a woman) will be  
desyzed and prated. Faustine beleue me,  
if feare of the goddes, the shame of hir  
persone, and speach of the people, wyth  
draue not a woman from euill, all the  
chastisement of the worlde will not o-  
uercome hir. The herte of man is very  
noble, and the heart of a woman is  
deyntee, and will haue great hyze for a  
lyttell goodnes, and for much euill no  
chastysemente. A wise man will know  
what he hath to do or he may. Than if  
he determyne him to take the company  
of a wyfe, he ought to enlarge his heart  
to receiue al that maie come with hir. It  
is but a small witte in a man to let by  
the small fantasies of his wife, or for  
to chastyce openly that maie be righted  
betwene

AVRELIVS.

betweene theym secretly. He that is  
wise and wil liue quietly with his wife  
ought to kepe this rule: admonishe hyr  
often, and reprove hir but seldome, and  
lay no handes on hir. For by other mea-  
nes he geatteth not fidelite on hir, nor  
good entreatyng of hir, nor good byrn-  
gyng of their chylzen, nor seruice  
to the goddes, nor any hope of profite  
of hyr. And thus Faustyne I wyll  
saye no moze to thee, but that thou con-  
syder, that I doo consider, and knowe  
that I doo se, and that my sufferance  
vnknowen to thee, maye suffice to as-  
mende thy lyfe.

**T**he emperours answer to Faustin,  
for that she said, He was with  
chylde. Cap. xxi.



Now that I haue opened  
and put out the olde be-  
nim, I wil answer to thy  
preset question or demad.  
To the entente that medy-  
cines may profite theym  
that be sicke, it is necessary to dispoyle  
the opilacions and leattes of the sto-  
make: Lyke wise none can counsayl his  
As friend

frend conueniently, but if he shew first  
 his greefe. Thou demaundest of me the  
 key of my study, and thou threttest me,  
 that if I geue it thee not, thou shalt bee  
 losse and hurte with thy fruite: ye wo-  
 men with childe haue a good hostage or  
 pledge, for vnder colour of trauaylyng  
 before your time, ye wold haue vs fulfil  
 all your fond appetites. Whan the holy  
 senate in the vnhappy time made a law  
 in fauoure of Romain matrones, they  
 were not so desyrous. Nowe I wote  
 not how it is, but ye all are anoyed and  
 iery of all goodnesse. And all ye in all  
 yll, desyrous and couetous. As farre as  
 I can remembre, whan Camill made  
 his boiue to Cybill the mother of God-  
 des to sende hym victorie in a battayle,  
 whan he had won the victorie, Rome  
 was so poore, that it had neither golde  
 nor syluer for to make the statute of  
 promise, the matrones than beyng, say-  
 ynge that theyr housbandes dyd offer  
 their liues in the sayd warre, they gran-  
 ted to presente their iewels to the holy  
 Senate. It was a miruallous thyng  
 to see, that without any speakyng to  
 them, or without any mans inticement  
 they determined all together to goe to  
 the

# AVRELIVS.

the highe capitoll, and there in the presence of euery man presented they: owches hangyng at their eares: The rynges of their fingers, the bracelletes of their armes, the perles from they: attires of their heades, the collers from their neckes, the broches of they: breastes, the gyrdels aboute their middels, and borders of they: gownes. And though that they: gyft was esteemed to a great valu, yet their good willes was esteemed a great deale more. The riches that they offered there was so gret, that there was not all onely ynough to performe the bove of the statute, but also to pursew the warre. And as than the custome of Rome was, that none did them any pleasure, but he was shortly recompenced: the same day that the matrones did offre their riche and faire iewelless in the capitoll, ther was granted vnto theim syue maner of thynges in the Senate: The firste, that at they: deathes the oratours should preach, publish, and shew their good liuyng: The seconde, that they should sit in the temples, wher as before they were wont to stande: The thyrde, that they shoulde were furred and lyned gownes, wher

# MARCVS

as before they ware none but syngler:  
The fourth, that in their diseases they  
might drinke wine, where as before on  
their liues they durst drinke none but  
water: The .v. that the Matrones of  
Rome great with childe, should not bee  
refused of any thyng that they desyred.  
These fiue thynges for certayne were  
iustly and wyllyngly graunted by the  
senate. And why this lawe that com-  
maundeth to denay nothyng to a wo-  
man with child was made, I wyll tell  
thee the occasion that moued the senate  
so to do, Fulvius Torquate beyng cōsull  
in the warre agaynst the Volseos, the  
knightes of Mauritanie brought to  
Rome a wylde man, that had but one  
eye, that they had taken in huntynge in  
the desertes of Egypt. And the matro-  
nes of Rome were at this tyme as sad  
and honest, as they be now belde and  
light. So was the wyfe of the sayd Tor-  
quate, that was nigh the tyme of hyr  
deliuerance, greate with childe, of  
trowth a woman so honest, that for the  
sobre solitarines that she kept in Rome  
she had no lesse glory than had hir hus-  
bande in the warres for his worthines,  
the which was well proued. For in the

AVRELIVS.

xiij. yere that Torquate hir housbande  
was in Asie a warre fare, the first time  
that he wēt thither, she was neuer sene  
at the wyndowe lokyng out, and shee  
was not al onely regarded for that, but  
in all the saide .xiij. yeres neuer man  
childe nor man aboue the aeye of .viij.  
yeres came within hir gates. And not  
content with this, that she did to geue  
example to all Rome, and to atteine per-  
petuell memory, where as she had lefte  
with hir three sonnes, the eldeste of  
whom was but three yeres of age: and  
as sone as they came to viij. yere, shee  
sent them out of hir house to their gran-  
fathers. And thus did this excellent Ro-  
main lady, to thentent that vnder coloz  
of hir owne children there shuld none o-  
ther yong children enter into hir house.  
Those yeres passed, after that the good  
olde man Torquate was retourned fro  
the warres of the Volseos, the said wild  
man with one eye went by the doore of  
the sayd Torquate, and one of hir may-  
dens tolde hir, that it was a merua-  
lous thyng to see: and the good lady had  
greate desyre to see hym, and bycause  
there was none to brynge hym to hir,  
that she might see him, she died for so-  
rowe,

# MARCVS

ro'we. And for certaine though he came  
often inough by hir doore, yet she wold  
neuer goe nor loke out at hir window  
to se him. Hir death was greatly be-  
wailed in Rome, for she was in Rome  
most derely beloued, and good reason:  
for many daies afore was no suche wo-  
man brought by in Rome. And by the co-  
maundment of the senate, the  
this writing in verses were  
sepulchre.

**¶** Here lyeth the glozy  
of Torquate, that v  
lyfe to assure hir go

**¶** Beholde Faustin  
made to remedy th  
tron, but to thende  
and to al the world  
tual example of hir li  
hir death: It was we.

that la'we for an honest  
with child, that it shulde be  
vertuous women. And as women  
that the la'we of them that be with childe  
should be kept, so by the same la'we it is  
requisite to requyre that they be honest,  
In the. vii. table of the la'we it is saide:  
We command, that where there is cor-  
ruption of customes, there liberties shal  
not be kept.

**¶** How

# AVRELIVS.

Howe tydynges was brought to the  
emperour, that the Mauritains  
wolde conquere great By-  
tayne. Cap. xxii.



In the .liiii. yere of Mar-  
cus the emperours aege,  
and the tenth yere of his e-  
lection to thempire, In the  
month of Iuly, as he was  
in the citee of Naples, and  
in very perfecte health, for he was  
tormented with the goute in his foote,  
he sent a Centurion in maner of a  
messenger with great hast, sayng that  
the Bytayne was sodenly arry-  
ued with a great nauy of war, to the nūbre of  
xxx. ships of the realme of Mau-  
ritaine, and the quantitee of .xx. M. men  
of foote, and .ii. M. men of armes: and  
that the kyng of Mauritaines brother  
was their capitayn, named Alclipio, the  
whiche had taken lande at a haven of  
the yle called Arpyne, and that to resist  
so great a power, there were but a fewe  
people in the saide yle. The good empe-  
rour heyrng these tydynges, though he  
felt it inwardly as a man, yet he sayd  
ned



# MARCVS

rolwe. And for certaine though he came often inough by hir doore, yet she wold neuer goe nor loke out at hir window to se him. Hir death was greatly bewayled in Rome, for she was in Rome most derely beloued, and good reason: for many daies afore was no suche woman brought by in Rome. And by the commaundment of the senate, the tenour of this wryting in verses were set vpon hir sepulchre.

**¶** Here lyeth the glazious matron wyfe of Torquate, that wolde auenture hir lyfe to assure hir good fame.

**¶** Beholde Faustine, this lawe was not made to remedy the deathe of this matron, but to thende that to such as ye be, and to al the world it shulde be a perpetual example of hir life, and memory of hir death: It was well done to ordeine that lawe for an honest woman beyng with child, that it shulde be kepte to all vertuous women. And as women wold that the law of them that be with childe should be kept, so by the same lawe it is requisite to requyre that they be honest, In the. vii. table of the lawe it is saide: We command, that where there is corruption of customes, there liberties shal not be kept.

**¶** How

# AVRELIVS.

Howe tydynges was brought to the  
emperour, that the Mauritains  
wolde conquere great By-  
tayne. Cap. xxii.



And the .liiii. yere of Mar-  
cus the emperours aeye,  
and the tenth yere of his e-  
lection to thempire, In the  
month of Iuly, as he was  
in the citee of Naples, and  
not in very perfecte health, for he was  
sore payned with the goute in his foote,  
there came a Centurion in maner of a  
messenger with great hast, sayng that  
in great Bytayne was sodenly ar-  
ryued a great nauy of war, to the nūbre of  
C. and. xxx. ships of the realme of Mau-  
ritain, and the quantitee of. xx. M. men  
a foote, and. ii. M. men of armes: and  
that the kyng of Mauritaines brother  
was their capitayn, named Alclipio, the  
whiche had taken lande at a haven of  
the yle called Arpyne, and that to resist  
so great a power, there were but a fewe  
people in the saide yle. The good empe-  
rour heyrng these tydynges, though he  
felt it inwardly as a man, yet he say-  
ned

# MARCVS

ned it outwardly as a discret man with  
a sadde countenaunce, and made fewe  
woordes, Than seepng, that busynesse  
might not be delated, he saide these wo-  
des: I will goe with a few people, and  
do what I can. For better it were with  
a fewe to goe betymes, than to tary for  
many and gooe to late. And forthwith  
the good Emperour pourueyed, that all  
thet of his palais, shoulde depart to goe  
to Brytaine, and none to tary beynd,  
to do hym seruyce. The custome was,  
that the emperours shulde haue alwaye  
in their houses such men as were mete  
to be sent forth in any busynesses that  
shuld happen for warre. And after that  
thet were shpypped, there arpynd one of  
Brytaine, that shewed, how the Mau-  
ritains were retourned, so that none of  
theim was lefte in the yle. Than this  
emperoz kept his hous in a good point.  
Littell occasion suffiseth to theim that  
be naturally of ill inclinacion, to depart  
and spreade thozough countreis to dooe  
harne: therfore he sente theim of his  
house to the entent, that by occasion of  
the warre, thet shoulde not leade an yll  
lyfe. Than the emperour fearyng the  
dissolucion of his courte, and boldenesse  
of

# AVRELIVS.

of his officers, to the entent thei shoulde not leaue vertue and grow in vyce, he determined on a day to call them to him secretly, and to say these wordes to the.

**¶** What the emperour saied to them of his courte in eschewyng ydelnesse. Cap. xxiii.



The greatest signe in a vertuous man is to doo vertuous woorkes, & vertuously to spend and occupy his time: and the greatest signe of a losse man is to leaue his time in naughty woorkes. The greatest hap of all, and the greatest desyre of men is to liue longe. For diuers chaunces that fall in short tyme may be suffered and remedied by longe space. Plato said: A man that passeth his lyfe wythoute profite, as one vnworthy to lyue, ought to haue the reste of his lyfe taken from him. The filthe of secrete chaumbers, the stynche of the pumpe in Shippes, nor the ordures of citees do not corrupte the ayre so muche, as ydell folke do the people. And as there is in a man, that occupi

M A R C V S

cupieth his tyme well, no t er'ue but it  
encreaseth: so in him, that occupieth  
his tyme ill, there is no villanie but it  
is suspect in hym. A man that is alway  
well occupied, ought euer to be reputed  
as good: and the yll man without fur-  
ther inquiry ought to be condemned as  
nought. Shew me now, I desyre you,  
what dothe nourishe the corrupte and  
foule wíedes, the nettelles that stynge,  
and the bziere that pricke, but the earth  
that is vntilled, and wáren wyld, and  
the fieldes full of thistels, whiche is not  
wíded, and visited with the plough:

¶ O Rome without Rome, that now  
as vnhappy hast but onely the name of  
Rome, because thou art so dere in ver-  
tues, and makest vices good chepe.

Pea pea, and I shall tell thee, knowest  
thou wherefore thou arte so: bycause  
thou hast vnpeopled the lanes and stre-  
tes of workemen and officers, and hast  
peopled it all about with infinite vaca-  
boundes. I know for trouth, that the  
Sampies, Mosigoths, Astrogoths, and  
Deniens syredde in your territoris, do  
you not so muche damage, as dooe these  
ybell and lost people suffered in euery  
shoppe. All wíters can not deny me,

AVRELIVS.

yf all nacions woulde conquere Rome,  
 they coulde no: can not take away one  
 loope of the walles of it: and these ydel  
 people haue troden and pulled vnder  
 their fecte the good renoume of it. An  
 infallible rule it is: a man giuen to exer-  
 cises is vertuous, and one giuen to leu-  
 tringes is a vicious person. What a  
 diuine thyng was it to see the diuine  
 worlds of our predecessours, the which  
 sith Tullius Hostilius, vnto Quintus  
 Cincinnatus dictatour, and sith Cincina-  
 tus vnto Cyncinos, which were of the  
 Sillans and Marians, ther was neuer  
 Consull at Rome, but he coulde do some  
 maner of office or occupaciō, wherewith  
 they were occupied whan their office in  
 the senate was ended. Some could  
 paynte pictures or other flat woorkes.  
 Other coulde graue images and portry  
 in wood or earth, or other thynges, or  
 coulde woork in siluer, and other met-  
 tals: and other red in schooles. In su-  
 che wyse that the holy senate myghte  
 chose none, but if he were fyrst knowen  
 in some maner handy crafte. I do fynde  
 in the annales all that is aboue sayde:  
 and if I lye, I do giue me to the flames  
 of Vulcan. And there was an auncient  
 law

M A R C V S.

lawe, that a miller, a smith, a baker,  
or a poynt maker, might not be a Se-  
natour, bycause men of the sayde occu-  
pations were commonly take with de-  
ceytes and gyles. Than regarde the  
maner and change of time, and the cor-  
ruption of customes, that. CCC. yeres  
euery man trauyled for the renowne  
of Rome, and this. viii. C. yeres euery  
man slepeth to the sleaunder of Rome.  
Other thynges I finde in the saide an-  
nales worthy of etern memorie, the peo-  
ple of Rome hauynge. iiii. perillous  
warres together (yong Scipio against  
the Sentens, Mucio agaynst the Lay-  
ens, Metellus agaynst Alexander of  
Macedonie, and an other Metellus his  
brother agaynst the Celtiberes of Spain)  
the law byng so sore kepte, that none  
should be taken from the misterie and  
office that he occupied, and the Sena-  
tours hauing extreme necessitee of mes-  
sengers to sende to the warres, whan  
the senatours had gon thre dates aboute  
with the Censors of Rome, they coulde  
not fynde one ydell man to be sent forth  
with their letters. I wepe for soy, that  
I haue of this antique felicitie: and I  
mourne for compassion of the miserie  
now

nowe beyng. It is a confusion to say,  
 but I will saie it: Twenty peres I had  
 office in the Senate, and it is .x. peres  
 sith I haue ruled the empyre, whiche is  
 xxx. in all, In the which season I sweare  
 by the goddes immortall, I haue cau-  
 sed to whippe, caste in welles, to burpe  
 quicke, to hange, to prycke, and to ba-  
 nish mo than .xxx. M. vacaboundes,  
 and .x. M. ydell women. Than what  
 difference is there betwene that life and  
 this death, that glozy and this payne,  
 that golde and this ordure, that antyke  
 Romain worke and this our present in-  
 nentyfe ydelnesse of Rome?

¶ In the lawes of the Lacedemoniens  
 this was wrytten in the table of the idel  
 people: We commaund as kynges, we  
 pray as seruauntes, we teache as phy-  
 losophers, and admonyshe as fathers,  
 that the father shall fyrste teache theyr  
 children to labour the fieldes, where by  
 trauaile they may liue, and not brought  
 bp in places, where by idelines they may  
 be losse. And that lawe saith fcrther-  
 more: If that yonge people obey not as  
 yonge, we will that the aeged people do  
 correct and punishe theim as aeged. And  
 in case that the fathers be negligent to  
 com-



# M A R C V S.

commaunde them, or that they be disobedient: We commande the p<sup>r</sup>ince than to be diligent to chastise them.

**C**ertainely these wordes are worthy to be noted: wherby Lycurge the kyngs deserued eternall memo<sup>r</sup>y for his person, and the said realme perpetual peace in the common welth. O Rome, what dost thou? why regardest thou not these lawes of the Lacedemoniens, whiche with their frendly customes, doth mock thy brutall vyces? Sleepest or wakest? O Rome thou wakest al the world to leaue swete trauayles, and sleepest in vniuste idelnesse. Thou art sure of enemies, and thou carelesse art drowned in slouth and idelnesse. Than sithe that they that bene farre of, doe waken the, thou oughtest to awaken theim that thou kepest w<sup>i</sup>th the. I woulde speake to all theim together of my palais, and longe agoe I wylled so to dooe, but the multitude of straunge businesses somtyme causeth a man to fezegeat his owne.

AVRELIVS.

**O**f the perillous liuyng of them  
that haunt the court conti-  
nually. Cap. xxiii.

**T**han the emperor topped these  
wordes to that he had said. Ma-  
ny thinges I haue sene, and of cre-  
dible persons I haue herd, whiche me-  
semed to be yll, and none of them good.  
Specially one, which offendeth the gods,  
sclaundereth the worlde, peruer-  
teth the common wealthe, and endoma-  
geth the person selfe: which is this cur-  
led slouth and ydelnesse, that destroyeth  
them that be good, and utterly bryngeth  
to naught them that be yll. Sometime  
secretely, and halfe as in sport openly  
I haue admonished and rebuked some  
of you, but I see it profiteth not of you.  
On one side the pricke of reason constrai-  
neth me to chastise you: againe conside-  
ryng the malice of mankynd, although  
that it be prompt to yll, somtyme I am  
determined to suffer you. Many times  
I would with fury chastise you as chil-  
dren, but I do refraine it, Consideryng  
that ye are ponge, and as yet know not  
the wykes of the worlde: for they holde  
so styfely together the yll with the yll,  
and

and among them make so great a leage  
of vyces with the vices, that there bee  
many that do begyle, suffre them selfe to  
be begyled, and that whan we escape  
fro a littell wyle, and knowe the begy-  
ler, we thynke that we are begyled all  
ready with other great wyles. I haue  
meruailous gret compassion of you my  
seruauntes, speakyng to you as a lord;  
and to you my chyldren, speakyng as a  
father, soz to see you all the daie & night  
wandryng throughe Rome as losse per-  
sons: and that worst of all is. I per-  
ceiue, that ye do not perceiue your own  
pardon. What greater beastlinesse  
can there be, than to see you wander like  
fooles from house to house, fro tauerne  
to tauerne, from one gasing to another,  
fro strete, to strete, fro place to place, fro  
plaie to play, fro reuelers to reuelers:  
And that moze is, that ye knowe not,  
what ye desyre, noz what ye woulde,  
where ye go, noz whens ye come, what  
pleaseth you, oz what displeaseth you:  
what is profitable oz losse vnto you.  
Noz ye remembre not, that ye wer born  
reasonable men, and that ye lyue as  
wildefolke among men, and after skil  
by as brute beastes. Fro whens wene ye  
that

AVRELIVS.

that this cometh: The cause is the be-  
 sye of beastly mounynges, not resisting  
 the desires of the luste of yowth, and as  
 bove all not applyng your mindes and  
 wylles to be well occupied. Take heerde  
 amonge you of my courte, and forget  
 not this. Haue ye no thought but to  
 seeke new pastimes, and to bozow eue-  
 ry day: No man, of what condicion so  
 euer he be, except he haunt seates of ar-  
 mes, or other learning in some ordinarie  
 exercise, shall haue his body lustie and  
 his spirite quicke: but shall be a cloyed  
 in all other thynges, and wander from  
 strete to strete, as a vacabounde. The  
 heart of man is noble, and hath powre  
 continually for all act:s, and all pas-  
 times of the body, and yet in thre daies  
 it is annoyed of him selfe alone, so that  
 with him can not rest one laudable ex-  
 ercise. Lyke as I am emperour of all  
 the worlde, so it is reason, and must ne-  
 des be, that I haue folke of all nations  
 in my palais. And such as the prynce  
 is, suche shall be his householde: and as  
 his house is, so shall his courte be: and  
 as the courte is, so shall the hole empyre  
 be. For this cause a kynge ought to bee  
 right honeste: his house well ordered

M A R C V S. 1

and ruled, his officers wel learned; and  
his court well kepte in awe, Of my  
good lyfe dependeth their good liues,  
and consequently the yll lyues. Every  
nacion lerneth in their perticular scho-  
les. The Siriens, in Babylon: the Per-  
sians in Dozkes: the Indics in Olimpe  
the Caldees in Thebes: the Greekes in  
Athenes: the Hebrewes in Belie: the  
Latines in Samte: the Frenche men in  
Orliance: the Spaniardes in Bades;  
and they all together in Rome. The uni-  
uersall schoole of all the worlde is the  
person, the house, and court of a prynce.  
As we emperours do say, the same wil  
our subiectes say: as we do, they wyl  
doo, that we forsake they will leaue: if  
we lese our selues, they will lose theim  
selues: yf we wpye, they will wyane,  
and finally our wealth, is their welth;  
and our harme, is their harme. Truly  
the prynce is bounde to kepe his owne  
person honestly and well besecne, his  
house and courte so well ruled, that all  
they that shall se it, may haue desire to  
folow and dooe therafter: and that all  
they, that here therof, may desyre to see  
it. Take ye hede, and let vs take hede:  
Haue ye in mynde, and let vs haue in  
mind

AVRELIVS.

mynd: that they, whiche be of straunge landes, goynge through strange landes into strange landes, by their great trauayles commynge to haue and demande socour and remedy of vs, may haue no cause to reporte any slanders of our yll customes. What thyng more monstrous can be nopsed amonge men, than that they should come and complayne of the theues of theyr countreies, to the theues of my courte? What greater shame and inconuenience can be, than to demaund Iustice of their mensleers, of the mankyllers of my court & house? What crueltee were so cruel, as to complayne of the vacaboundes of their landes, to the slouthfull and ydell folke of my house? What thyng can be more shamefull, than to come to accuse theim that haue sayd yll of emperours, before theim that euery daie blasphem the goddes? What thing can be more inhumaine, than to come to aske iustice on him that hath transgressed but ones, of theim that neuer dyd good workes? Cruely in such case the pore men should retourn with their ignorance begyled, and we should tary with our cruel malice shamed of men, and culpable before

# MARCVS

god. O how many small matters dooe  
we chastice in men of small reputation,  
which without breakyng of Justice we  
might forbear: and how many great  
things dooe the goddes suffre in the his  
princes and lordes, the which not with  
out iustice, they may greuously pun  
nysh: And by that cruel men as cruel,  
can pardon nothing, and the goddes pi  
tiesfull scantly will chastice any thynge.  
Yet for al this, I would that none shuld  
docetue him selfe, for though the gods  
des forbere their iniuries, yet they leaue  
them not unpunished, by strange Ju  
stice. The goddes ben in their chastise  
mentes as he that geueth a blow to an  
other, the bier that he listeth his hande,  
the greater is the stroke on the cheeke.  
By semblable wise, the more yerres that  
they forbear our sinnes, the more after  
warde they do hurt vs with peynes.  
Cruely I haue sene the goddes diuers  
times to diuers persons forbear dy  
uerse sinnes a greate while, but at the  
last I haue seen them all vnwares cha  
stised with one chastisement.

Colo

## AVRELIVS:

**H**ow the emperour wolde haue theims  
of his court to lyue. Cap. xxv.



**S**ith that the goddes haue  
ordeined, and my fatal de  
stinies haue permitted,  
that I shuld be chosen em  
perour (not to slouthfall)  
I haue laboured al that I  
might, to visite the empyre: ye littell  
ponge folkes that are here, were geuen  
to me of your fathers, for to nouryssh  
you in my palates. And for you that are  
bygger, I was desyred to receyue you,  
in hope to haue gyftes and rewardes,  
and other I did choose to doe me seruice.  
The intencion of the fathers, whan they  
bring their chyldren to the court of prin  
ces, is to put theim from dalvaunce of  
their friendes, and banyshe theim from  
the wantonnesse of their mothers. And  
me semeth it is well done, for the chil  
dren from their youth oughte to geue  
theym selfe to trauayle, whereby they  
ought to lyue and resiste the disfaour  
and falles of fortune. Ye are not come  
from your countreis to learne the vices

I iiii

ners



# MARCVS

ners that are in Rome, and leave the yll  
maners of your landes. All that doe not  
this, and forsake tranaple: geue them  
selfe to very ydelnesse. The miserable  
Rome hath moze neede of laubourers for  
to labour, than of lordes and habitan-  
tes, Patriciens, that wil passe the tyme  
in rest and pleasures. I sweare to you,  
that not for wearynge the armes with  
the craft of weaynge, and the syngers  
with spinnyng, the bozbell houses now  
a daies are fuller of ydell women, than  
the churches of good priestes. And I  
sweare agayne, that easilier maie bee  
founde, .x. M. yll women in Rome to  
serue in pleasure of vices, than .x. M.  
good men to serue in the churches. I  
praise you, who sleath the marchauntes  
in hye wates: Who dispoileth waitefa-  
ryng men and pilgrimes on the moun-  
tains: who pyketh the lockes and bre-  
keth honeste mens doores and wyndow-  
es: who robbe by strengthe the chur-  
ches: but these lewtryng theues, why-  
che will not labour by date, but dispoile  
them to rob by nyght. O Rome, what  
harmes come to the for one onely euill:  
Who hath filled Italpe so full of lasse  
people, the palats so full of vnable per-  
sons,

AVRELIVS.

sons, the mountaines so full of theues,  
the tauernes so full of women, and eue-  
ry place so full of vacabundes: but one,  
the canker of ydelnesse and slouth, whi-  
che destroyeth the good customes more  
than the windes and waters thine olde  
worne walles. Beleue me one thyng,  
for I wote that I saie trouth therein,  
that the craft of weauyng, wherein all  
the naughtie vilantes are wouen and  
wrought, and the seede of all vnhappy  
vices, the slidyng of all goodnesse, the  
fallyng of all theim that be euill, and  
the awakynge and prouokynge of all  
these, is but this foule vice of slouth  
and idelnesse. And more ouer I saie,  
that there is no vyce amonge all vyces,  
that bredeth so greatte a fyre, and cau-  
seth so continuall a sickenesse of sleepe  
amonge aeged folke, and that putteth  
good folke in so great peryll, and dooth  
so muche damage to them that be euill,  
as doth ydelnesse. Who is it, that cau-  
seth sedicion amonge the people, and  
sclaunder in Realmes, but they that  
reste and dooe nothyng: because they  
woulde eate the foode gotten by sweat  
of theim that labour: who is it, that  
syndeth newe innencions of trybutes  
and

# M A R C V S

and foraine exactions, but ydell men,  
the whiche because they will not worke  
with their handes, finde profyte with  
infinite exactions: who maketh dys-  
cencion betwene neyghbours but ydell  
folke: they deuyde theyr yll amonge  
their neyghbours, because they occu-  
pie not their forces in good workes, nor  
refrayne theyr tounges to clatter of o-  
ther mens lyues: who imagyneth in  
these daies so many malices in Rome,  
the whiche was neuer harde of our fa-  
thers, nor redde in our booke: but va-  
cabundes, that neither applie nor sette  
their wittes aboute nothyng els, but  
thynke howe to endamage other: The  
emperour that coulde banishe all these  
ydell persons out of his empyre, might  
well anaunt him selfe to haue oppressed  
all the byces of the worlde. I woulde it  
pleased the immortall goddes, that of  
so many triumphes, that I haue hadde  
of straungers, occupied in good exerci-  
ses, that I had seene one of the vacaban-  
des of Rome driuen out of all houses.  
There was an auncient lawe, none  
might be taken and receined for a ci-  
tisen in Rome, but he were first exami-  
ned by the Censores. In the tyme of  
Lato

# AVRELIVS.

Cato Censorius, whan any woulde be a  
 citezen of Rome, this examination was  
 made of hym : He was not demaun-  
 ded, of whens he was, nor what he  
 was, nor whens he came, nor wherfore  
 he came, nor of what kinne or auncient  
 stocke he came : but onely they tooke his  
 handes betwene theirs, and if they selte  
 theim softe and smothe, forthwith as  
 an ydell vacabunde man, they dispat-  
 ched and sente him away : and if they  
 found his handes harde and ful of harde  
 knottes, by and by they admitted hym  
 a citezen and dweller in Rome. Also  
 whan any officers tooke any yll doers,  
 and put theim in prison, that was cal-  
 led Marmotine, in stede of informaci-  
 on, the first thyng that they tooke hede  
 of, was theyr handes, whiche if they  
 had bene as a labourers handes, and a  
 worke man, though his crime were gre-  
 nous, yet his chastisemente was miti-  
 gate, and moze easie : and yf the vn-  
 happy prisoner chaunced to haue ydell  
 handes, for a lyttell faute, he shoulde  
 haue sharpe punishment. It hath ben  
 an olde saynge : He that hath good  
 handes, must nedes haue good custome.  
 I say, I chastised neuer a labourynge  
 man,

# MARCVS

man, but I was soꝛy foꝛ it: noꝛ I ne-  
 uer caused to whyppe a bacabunde, but  
 I was gladde of it. I wyll tell you  
 moꝛe of this Cato Censorius, whiche  
 was greatly feared. Foꝛ euen as chil-  
 dren in the scholes hering their maister  
 commynge in, renne to their bookes, So  
 whan Cato wente thꝛough the streetes  
 of Rome, euery bodye wente to theyꝝ  
 wooꝛke. O right happy Baron, befoꝛe  
 whom the people feared moꝛe to bee y-  
 dell, than to be yll befoꝛe any other.  
 Than beholde ye at this houre, what  
 foꝛce vertue hath, and how valiaunte  
 a vertuous man is, seenge that all the  
 world feared Rome onely, foꝛ hir woꝛ-  
 thynges in armes: and all Rome feared  
 Cato, onely foꝛ his vertues. The ad-  
 uentures of men are so diuers, and the  
 suspect fortune geneth so many ouer-  
 thwart turnes, that after that a greate  
 space she hath geuen greate pleasures,  
 incontinent we are cyted to hir subtyll  
 trauailes of repentaunce. O happie  
 Cato Censorius, who with suche as  
 haue folowed his waies, are now sure  
 fro the abatements of fortune. Than  
 he that will haue gloꝛy in this lyfe,  
 and attayne gloꝛie after death, and be  
 beloued

# AVRELIVS.

beloued of many, and feared of all: let him be vertuous in doyng of good woꝝkes, and deceiue no man with bayne woꝝdes. I sweare vnto you by the lawe of a man of woꝝship, that if the goddes woulde accomplishe my desyre, I had rather to be Cato with the vertuous policies that he vsed in Rome, than to be Scipio, with the abundance of bloud that he shedde in Affricke: all wee know well that Scipio hadde a greate fame in beatynge downe of cities, and cuttyng innocentes thꝛotes, and Cato hath atteyned eternall memoꝝy in reformyng the people, pardonynge trespassours, and teachyng ignorant folke. Than ye may all see, yf I haue good reason, more to desyre to be Cato, to the profite of many, than to be Scipio, to the pꝛeiudice of so many. To my freendes, these woꝝdes I haue said, by cause yee maye see, that our predecessours, some in theyꝝ owne landes, oꝛther in straunge landes, some beyng yonge, and some olde, in theyꝝ tymes had glory in theyꝝ persones, for theiꝛ selfe: and for the woꝛlde to come haue leste no lesse memoꝛie for their successours and of spyꝛng. And we dooe all the

# M A R C V S.

the contrary, I beyng Emperorre am  
loth for to commaund any yll, and our  
officers for their interest do woꝝs. And  
where as we are sette in diuers pleasu-  
res by our vice, we fall hourelly to dy-  
uers myseries, and are noted into oure  
greate infamy. By the whiche occa-  
sion the iust goddes for our vnjust woꝝ-  
kes. geuyng iust sentence, commaunde,  
that we liue with suspicion, die with  
shame, and to be hurted with forgetful-  
nes neuer to be had in memorie.

Than you of my courte take good hede,  
and prynte well my woordes in your  
myndes: for who so euer I see or finde  
ydell from hens forth, I discharge hym  
out of my serupce. Ye that be learned  
may write and rede, ye that be men of  
armes and knightes, exercise you in  
seates of warre, ye that be officers, oc-  
cupie you in your offices. And take  
this for certayne, that if ye take not  
this for a warnyng and monicion, that  
I haue geuen you betwene you and me  
the pnnishmentes, that I shall geue  
vnto you, shall be openly. And to the  
entente that ye haue it better in your  
memorie, and to be a doctrine to prynte  
tes hereafter to come, this present prae-  
tise

# AVRELIVS.

cisse and remonstrance I haue wrytten  
in all touniges, and sette it in the high  
Capitoll, with many other of my wry-  
tynges. The goddes be keepers of you:  
and also they defend and kepe me from  
yll fortunes, and misaduentures.

**O**f a meruailous and fearfull mons-  
ter, that was scene in Sicile,  
and of his wrytinges.  
Capitulo. xxvi.



**L** the pere of the founda-  
cion of Rome. vii. C. xx.  
and. xli. of the eage of  
Marcus theperour, &  
ii. yeres before he toke  
posseſſion of the empire,  
the .xx. day of y<sup>e</sup> moneth  
Sertilis, which now is called Auguste,  
about the time of the sonne settinge, in  
the realme of Sycil, than called Trinac-  
rie, in a citee called Bellyne, on the see  
now named Valerne, a porte of the see,  
there chaunced a thyng right portilouse  
to them that sawe it, and no lesse feare-  
full to them that shall heare it now. As  
thei of Belline oz Valerne were than  
celebratinge a feaste with greatte ioye:  
for



# M A R C V S.

for the gladnesse that their Pirates had  
ouercome the army of the Numidiens,  
and had taken. x. of their shippes, and  
caste. xxxii. persons into the sea, bycause  
at that tyme they were enemies eche  
to other, and for the yll woorkes they  
didde, were shewed the great passions,  
that passed amonge them. And as it is  
the custome, the thyng that these Pira-  
tes get on the sea, they depart it among  
them all, whan they come home. And  
whan they come to lande, they spende  
that merily, that they gatte with great  
trauaple. It is a thyng well to be no-  
ted, howe all good and yll hartes are  
applied: The good men haue great de-  
sire to their triumphes, and coueitous  
men to their lucre and wyppnyng.  
Thus men ought to be beloued, though  
shortely after they ought to bee abhor-  
red. And also they ought to bee abhor-  
red, as though shortely after they ought  
to be beloued. Thus than the gouer-  
nours of the sayde citie, commaunded  
all the saide shippes to bee sequestred  
into their owne handes, to the intent,  
that they shoulde not bee solde, nor  
the coueytous people to haue the ad-  
uantage in the bypnyng of them. The  
cause

AVRELIVS.

cause was, for the custome of the men of  
the ples was, that all thinges shulde be  
kept together, vnto the ende of the war,  
or at least tyl they had peace. This was  
a iuste lawe: for many tymes is made  
stedfast appoyntmentes betwene great  
enemies, and not all only for the auncient  
hatred, but also for lacke of riches  
to satisfie the presente damages. That  
as all the people were withdrawen into  
their houses about supper tyme, for it  
was sommer, sodenly there came a mon-  
ster into the myddes of the citee, after  
this shape: He seemed to be of two cuby-  
tes of height, and he had but one eye,  
his head was all pilled, so that his scull  
might be seene: He had none eares, but  
that a littell of his necke was open, wher-  
by it seemed that he heard: He had two  
crooked hoynes as a gote: His right arme  
was longer than the lefte, his handes  
were like hors fete, he had no throt, his  
necke was egall with his head: his shoul-  
ders shone as pytche, his brest and stom-  
marke was all rough of heare, his face  
was lyke a man, saufe it had but one  
eye, in the myddes of his forehead, and  
had but one nose thill, from the waste  
downward he was not seene, for it was  
covered

# M A R C V S

couered, he satte on a chariot with. iiii. wheles, where at were two lyons fastened together before, and two beares behynde: and it coulde not be determined, wherof the charpotte was made but there was no difference in saycon thercon, and other that were bled commonlye: In the myddes of the saide charpotte was a caudron lyke a table with two eares, wherin the sayde monster was: and therefore it was sene but fro the gyrdelftede bywarde. He went about in the citee fro gate to gate a long space castyng out spercles of fyre. The feare was so greatte, that dyuers women with chylde were delyuered with great peryll, and other that were weake harted fell in a swoone. And all the people greatte and small, lesse and more, ranne to the temples of Iuppyter, Mars, and Ihebus, makyng importunate cries and clamours. And the same seasons all the saied Pryates were lodged in the gouernours palayes named Solyn. He was of the nacyon of Capue, and there was all the rychesie kept. And whan this monster had bene ouer all the citee with his charpot, than the lyons and beares brought hym to the palays,

# AVRELIVS.

palays, where the Pyrates were, and  
 beyng verp nigh to the gates that wer  
 fast closed, the monstre cutte an eare of  
 one of the Lyons, and with the blouds  
 therof he wzote these letters. *A. A. S.*  
*Id. J. Id.* These letters were a proofo to  
 all theim of high spirite, to geue decla-  
 ration of them: and there were mo de-  
 claracions than there were letters. But  
 finally a woman diuineresse, oz contra-  
 rie, a soothsayer, that was had in greate  
 reputacion of hir craftes, made the ve-  
 ry declaracion of the sayed letters, say-  
 yng thus, *A. reddite. A. aliena. S. si bul-*  
*tis. Id. propria. J. in pace. Id. possidere.*  
 Whiche all together is to say: Render  
 that pertaineth to other, if that ye will  
 in peace possesse your owne. Surely the  
 pyrates were soze afrayed of that dread-  
 full commaundement: and the woman  
 was greatly praysed for hir high decla-  
 ration. Than forthwith the same night  
 the Monster went into a high moun-  
 tayne called as than Janicla, and there  
 by the space of three daies was in the  
 syght of all the citce: and in that season  
 the lions made great roying & howling,  
 and the beares & monster cast out great  
 fearefull flames. And all that season

# M A R C V S

there neither appered byrde in the ayre,  
 nor beast in the fieldes, and all the men  
 offred greate sacrifices to the goddes,  
 in suche wyse, that they brake the bey-  
 nes of theyr handes, and fete, and offred  
 their bloud, to se if they might appease  
 their goddes. After the three dates pas-  
 sed sodenly appered a cloud blacke and  
 darke vpon the earthe, and it began to  
 thunder and lighten, with a great erth-  
 quake, so that many houses fell in the  
 citee, and many of the dwellers and ci-  
 tesyens died. And than sodenly there  
 came a flame of fyre from the monster,  
 and brent all the palays, where the said  
 Pyrates were, and the rycheses that  
 were in it, so that all was consumed in  
 it, yea the very stones: and the damage  
 was so great, that there fel mo than .ii.  
 M. houses. And there died as good as  
 x. M. persons. And in the same place on  
 the toppe of the mountayne, where as  
 the monster was, the emperour com-  
 maunded to edifie a temple to the god  
 Jupyter in memory of the same. Of the  
 whiche temple the emperour Alexander  
 hauing warre with them of the realme  
 made a stronge castell.

What

# AVRELIVS.

**W**hat befell to a citezen of Rome  
in the time of this emperor  
Marcus. Cap. xxvii.



**A**t the same time that this  
adventure chaunced in  
that Ile, there was  
dwelling in the same ci-  
tee a Romaine, named  
Anthigone, a lord of no-  
ble bloud, and somewhat entred in age:  
and about two yere before, he, his wife,  
& a doughter of his wer banished Rome  
and not his sonnes. The occasion was,  
there was an ancient laudable custome  
sich Quintus Cincinnatus dictatour,  
that two of the aunciet senatours togie-  
ther should go with the censoze newlye  
created, & the olde, in the month of De-  
cember, for to visite all Rome: & they to  
call euery Romayn a part alone, & shew-  
yng him the. xii. tables of their lawes,  
& particuler decres of the senate, deman-  
ding of them, if they knew any neigh-  
bour in their quarter, that had broken  
these lawes. And if they did, it should be  
informed to the senat. And there al togie-  
ther to ordayne punysshment, ascozding

# MARCVS

to the diuersitee of the fautes that they had committed. But the fautes committed that present were, they myght not chastise, but to aduertise them to amende afterwarde. And all suche as wer ones warned, and in the next visitacion founde styll vnamended, to be greuously punished, and sometime banished. These were the wordes of the law in the .v. table and thirde capiter: It is ordeigned by the holy Senate, by consent of blissfull men, receyving the auncient colonies, that if men beyng men in one yere do trespas, the men as men for the said yere shall dissimule and forbear: but yf they that be yll as yll doo not amende, they that be good, as good shall chastise them. Also the sayde lawe saith, the first fautes are suffered, because they are committed with weake ignorance: but if they continue them, that they be chastysed because their yll commeth of slouth and malice. This inquisition was euer made in the moneth of December, because that soone after in the moneth of Ianuier the offices of Rome were denyded. And it was reason, that they should know, to whom they shoulde gyue or deny their dig<sup>s</sup>

# AVRELIVS:

dignitees, to the intent that good shulde  
 not be chosen in steede of yll, nor the yll in  
 steede of good. The particuler cause why  
 they banysshed the man and his wyfe,  
 with their doughter was this: The se-  
 conde emperour of Rome August orde-  
 ned, that none shoulde be so hardy to pis  
 at any doores of the temples: and Cali-  
 gula the. lxxx. emperour commaunded,  
 that no woman shuld geue any cedules  
 to hange aboute the peoples necke, to  
 heale the feuer quartayne. And Cato  
 censorine made a lawe, that no younge  
 man nor yong maiden shulde speake to-  
 gether at the conduites or welles, where  
 they fetched water, nor at the ryuer,  
 wher they washed theyr clothes, nor at  
 the ouens, where they baked breade, by  
 cause all the yonge people of Rome that  
 were wyld and wanton, ran euer thy-  
 ther. So it befell, that as the censours  
 and consules visited the quarter called  
 mount Celso, there was a dweller na-  
 med Antigonus accused, that he was  
 sene pssynge agaynst the temple wall  
 of Mars: and his wife was accused,  
 that she had sold cedules for feuer quar-  
 taines: and likewyse his doughter was  
 accused, that she was sene at the con-  
 duites



# MARCVS.

dusties, ryuers, and ouens, speking and  
laughyng with yong men of Rome, The  
whiche was a great shame to the mai-  
dens of Rome. Than the censours seying  
the yll order, that they had found in the  
house of the sayd Anthigone by the rege-  
sters, by due examination, beyng war-  
ned afore, they were banished into the  
yles of Cyrell, for as long as it shoulde  
please the senate. And like as in edifi-  
ces, sumptuous and of greatte esty-  
macion, one stone is not decayde or wri-  
rhed out without shakynge or mouyng  
of an other: euen lykewyle is it in the  
chances of men. For commonly one un-  
happines chaunceth not, but an other  
foloweth. And I say this because Anthi-  
gone lost not only his honoz and welth,  
but also he was banished, and besyde  
that by the tremblyng of the earth his  
house fel downe, and slew a welbeloued  
doughter of his. And all the whyle that  
this was doen at Rome, and that that  
befell of the monster in Sicile, Marke  
themperour was in the warres against  
the Arrogons, and there he receyued a  
letter from Anthigone, wherin was re-  
herfed his banishyng, wherof the Em-  
perour had great compassion, and to  
com-

AVRELIVS.

comfort hymn, sent hymn an other letter.

**O**f a great pestilence that was  
in Italy in this emperours  
tyme. Cap. xxviii.



**T**ue yere after the death  
of Anthony the meke, fa-  
ther in lawe to Marcus  
Aurelius, and father to  
Faustine, there fel a pesti-  
lence in Italy, and it was  
one of the. v. great pestilences amonge  
the Romaine people. This mortalitee  
dured the space of. ii. yeres, and it was  
vniuersall throught out all Italy, to the  
great domage and feare of all the Ro-  
maines: for they thought the goddes  
wold haue destroyed them, for some dis-  
plesure that thei had done against them.  
There died so many, as well of great e-  
state, as ryche and pooze, greatte and  
small, yong and olde, that the wyrters  
had les traual to wyte the small num-  
bre of them that were left a lyue, than  
to wyte the multitude of them that were  
dead. Lyke as whan a great buildynge  
will fall, firste there falleth some stone:  
In lykwys the Romaines neuer had  
no

# M A R C V S

No gret pestilence in their time, but first  
 thei were thretned with some toke signe  
 or prodigie fro heauen. Two yere be-  
 fore that Hanniball entred into Italy, in  
 an euenyng whan the wether was clere  
 and fayre, sodeinly it rayned bludde and  
 milke in Rome. And it was declared by  
 a woman, that the blud betokened cru-  
 ell warre, and the mylke a mortal pe-  
 stilence. Whan Scylla retourned from  
 Champayn, to put Marius his enemie  
 out of Rome, his men of warre & knigh-  
 tes saue in a night a fountain that ran  
 blud, and who so euer was bathed ther-  
 in, semed to be popsoned with venime.  
 Of the whiche prodigie folowed, that  
 of. ii. C. and. l. M. dwellers in Rome,  
 what with theim that dyed wyth the  
 swerde, and other consumed by pesti-  
 lence, were consumed with Scilla, and  
 of them that fled with Marius, of the  
 saied gret multitude of Romayns, there  
 abode alpye no mo but. xl. M. persones.  
 Certainly Rome neuer receiued so great  
 domage in. vi. C. yeres before, as they  
 didde by their owne propre people.  
 All the tyzantes were neuer so cruell a-  
 gaynst strange landes, as the Romains  
 were than agaynste their owne propre  
 law

AVRELIVS.

landes. And this semeth to be true, because the same daye that Scilla passed through Rome with his bloudy sworde, a capitaine of his sayd to him: Syr Scilla, if we slea them that beare armour in the seeldes, and them that beare no armour in their houses, with whom shall we liue? I coniure thee by the hie Goddess, sith we be bozne of women, lette vs not slea the women: and sith we be men lette vs not slea the men. Thou thynekst that in sleayng all the Romaynes, to make a common welth of beastes of the mountaynes. Thou entrest with a crie to defende the common wealth, and to put out the tirantes that destroy the common welth, and we do remayne tyrauntes our selues. To mine vnderstandyng, that capitayne merited as greate glory for the good wordes that he spake, as Scilla did merite chastisement for the crueltie that he did. This we haue saide, because that ere suche damages dyd fall, there appered before certayne prodigies and tokens. No lesse token was shewed before the mortallitee that fell in the tyme of this good emperour, the which was a fearefull thyng. The case was so: On a day as the emperour was

# MARCVS

was at the temple of the virgins Vestales, sodaynly there entred in two hogges, and ranne about his sete, and there fell downe dead. And on an other day as he came from the high Capitoll, for to haue gone oute of the gate Salaris, he saue twoo kites iognyng together with their talantes: and so fell downe dead at the emperours feete. And within a short whyle or season after, as the sayd emperour came fro huntynge, his houndes rennyng at a wilde beaste, as he gaue two greihoundes that he loued well, water to dzynte with his owne handes, sodeinly they fell downe dead at his feete. Than he remembryng the swyne, the kytes, and the greihoundes dead so sodeinly, he was greatly dysmaied, and assembled all his priestes, magiciens, and diuines, demaunding what they saied to the prodigies. And they by those thynges passed, iudged the dede present, and determined, that within two yeres the goddes wold send gret and greuous punyshmentes to Rome. Than within a shorte while after there bega a war against the Parthes, wher by there fell the yere after great famine and pestilence among the Romaynes.

Thys

# AVRELIVS.

This pestilence came with soores vnder the arme pittes, so that all the Senate fled away, and the emperor alone abode still in the capitoll. Than the ayre began to be so corrupt, that though he escaped the pestilence, yet he was vexed wyth hotte feuers. Wherefore he was fayne to leue Rome, and wente into Cham-  
payne: and finally in the citee of Na-  
ples he made his abode during the time  
that the pestilence was in Rome.

How Marcus answered his phy-  
sicians that would haue him leaue  
his studie. Cap. xxix.

The emperor beyng in the sayde  
citee of Naples, where as other  
sought pastyme to conserue theyr  
liues, this emperor occupied him selfe  
in his booke to augment science. A man  
could do him no better seruice, than to  
seke to get him a new booke: not suche  
as was written in his tyme, but suche  
as were forgotten for age. This Em-  
peror was not onely a louer of olde  
and antike booke, but also of auncient  
stories, and set very great store by them  
And he thus beyng in the citee sycke  
and

and very yll at ease, there was brought to him out of a citie of Asia called Be-  
 lia by certayne Hebrewes, a booke wri-  
 ten in hebrewe: and he tooke such plea-  
 sure in that booke, that ofte tymes he  
 would leaue his meate and go to studie:  
 and for all that he was in his hotte fe-  
 uer, he would not leaue to reade, for all  
 that his phisicians warned hym, and  
 his freendes prated him, and they that  
 were aboute him, counsayled hym, and  
 demaunded him, why he left to procure  
 the health of his person in so muche rea-  
 dyng. He aunswered: By the Goddes,  
 that we honour I coniure you, and for  
 the freendeship that is betwene vs, I  
 pray you let me alone. Ye knowe well,  
 that suche as are of a delicate bloude,  
 haue not so muche sollicitude as the ru-  
 sticall people, that haue harde sinewes,  
 and be of a more harder cōplexion. Like  
 maner they of clere vnderstanding haue  
 nede of other medicines, and to bee hea-  
 led with other syzoppes than they of  
 grosse vnderstanding. This is the dif-  
 ference that I haue of either of theym.  
 The ydeatte kepeth diet from bookes,  
 and resteth on his meate, and the wyle  
 manne abhozreth meate, and dratweth  
 hym

## A V R E L I V S.

hym to hys bookes: If they knew that  
 know not, what thyng knowlage is,  
 I sweare to you they shoulde see what  
 auayleth moze the littell knowlage that  
 a wise man hath, than the great ryches  
 of the ryche man. For the myserable  
 riche person, the moze that he encreasith  
 in rychesse, the moze he dymynisheth in  
 friendes, and groweth in ennemies to  
 his domage. And he that is wittie, the  
 wyser that he is, the better he is belo-  
 ued of them that be good, and feared of  
 them that be yll for his profyte. One of  
 the thynges, wherein I holde my selfe  
 most bounde to the goddes is this, that  
 they haue caused me to compasse the  
 tyme as I haue done, the whiche is not  
 a lyttell gyft for a man to lyue in thys  
 worlde. I saie it is, bycause I haue  
 had great compassion of the poore, that  
 be verate poore, of wydowes, of them  
 that be sorowfull and unhappie, and of  
 Orphelins. But without compa-  
 rison I haue hadde greatest compassi-  
 on of them that lacke knowlage.  
 For the goddes makynge men ignorant  
 by naturalitee, might haue made them  
 goddes by cunnynge and knowlage: and  
 as slouthful men are tamed and made  
 lesse



# M A R C V S.

lesse than men, by their negligence, so certainly blessed is he, that is not content to be a man, but if he procure to be more than a man, by his vertue. And cursed is that man, that knoweth not to be a man, but maketh him selfe lesse than a man by his vice. By the iudgement of all philosophers, there is but one, that is the fyrste cause: whiche is one god immortall, and if there be dyuers goddes in the heauens, it is bicause there are diuers vertues in the earth. And in the worlde, that is passe, whan the simple men wer seruantes and bond men, and the good men rulers, and gouernours, thei were than so esteemed, bicause they were knowen and renoumed for their good workes in their lyfe. So that they were holden and reputed as goddes after their death. This is the right reward, that commeth of vertue. It is a thyng consonant to reason, that they that be good among so many yll in this lyfe, shoulde be greatly honoured amonge the goddes after their death. ye are not well contente wyth me, bycause I am alwaie readyng: But I am worse content with you, bycause I neuer see boke in your handes: ye thynke

# AVRELIVS.

It great trauple, to a sycke man to rede,  
 and I repute it a very perillous thynge,  
 for a wholle man, to reste and be ydle.  
 yf saie, my readyng is cause of my ser-  
 uer quartain in my fleshe: and I saie,  
 that ydelnesse ingendreth greate pesti-  
 lence. Sith I make profite by my booke,  
 let no man haue compassion of my tra-  
 uayle. For I desyre rather to dye as a  
 wise personne, among wise men, than to  
 lyue ignozantly among men. I demand  
 one thynge of you: a man, presumyng to  
 be a man, and is not learned; what diffe-  
 rence is betwene him and other beasts?  
 Certaynly, the beasts are more profy-  
 table to labour the earth, than symple  
 persons be, to serue the common wealth:  
 A poore ore geueth his skynne to make  
 shoone: his fleashe to bee eaten, and his  
 strength to labour: and a poore simple  
 sheep doeth profyte, his flece and woll  
 to make clothe, and his mylke to make  
 chese. But what profiteth a folysh ideot  
 man? Nothynge, but offendeth the god-  
 des, sclaundereth innocentes, eateth the  
 bread of other, and is chiefe head of va-  
 caboundes. Of trobth if it laie in my  
 handes to do, I had rather gyue lyfe to  
 a symple ore, than to a malitious ideot.

R

For

## M A R C V S

For the beast liueth for the vtilitye of  
 diuers, without doyng damage to any  
 other: and the simple ideot man liueth,  
 to the damage of all other, and without  
 profyte to any person. Therfore thynke  
 well, why I am not pleased with them  
 that be ignoraunt, and loue them that  
 be learned. Hearke sirs, what I shall  
 shew you: That man semeth good, that  
 is meke and gentill of condicion, seft in  
 woordes, and restfull in his persone, and  
 graciouse in conuersacion. And con-  
 trarywyse, that persons sore displeaseth  
 me, that is sharpe of woordes, sore me-  
 ued in his woorkes, riotous in his con-  
 ditions, and double of his promysse,  
 and harde herted. Also I saye, that yf  
 any thyng wante in a wyse manne by  
 nature, he supplieth it by science, and  
 he that is ignozant and foolyshe, if he  
 wante discrecion, he supplieth it with  
 his malice. And truste surely, that a  
 woorthy vertuous man thereby be com-  
 meth wyse, and he is to be trusted:  
 And he that is of an other maner,  
 beware of hym, for he goeth about to  
 sell his malysce. He that wyll begyle an  
 other, the fyrst thyng that he dooeth is,  
 he sheweth him selfe to bee simple and  
 igno-

AVRELIVS.

Ignorant. For a man beyng in credence  
may soone spreade abrode his malice.  
The mothes and softe wormes, fret  
the cloth, and the canker worrme per-  
reth the bone, and flatterynge men be-  
gyle all the worlde.

How science ought to be in  
princes, Cap. xxx.



He sayd emperor for  
lowinge his purpose,  
sayd: freendes beholde  
how great damage ig-  
nozaunce doeth to all  
men: and though it be  
damageable to etery  
man, yet it is most hurtfull to a prince,  
which ought, not only to be contente, to  
know as much as any other wyse per-  
son knoweth, but to know that etery  
man knoweth, sicke he is lord over all  
other. To my iudgement, these prynces  
are not chosen, that they shuld eat more  
meate, thā al other, nor to be apparailled  
richelier than al other, nor to ren faster  
than al other: but with presupposicion,  
that they ought to know more than all  
other, When a pryncce wyll restrynt

his sensualitie, that he ought to regarde that his person be right honest, and remembre this worde, that is: The greater that a p[ri]nce is of power, aboue other, the more ought he to be vertuous aboue all other. For certaynly the greatest infamy is, to se a man most mighty and most riche aboue al other, and than to be knowen an ideot, & lesse of knowledge than other. Al defectes in a gouernour may be borne saue ignoraunce: for ignoraunce in a p[ri]nce, is a stroke of pestilence: and it sleeth diuers, and infecteth all persones, and vnepeopleth the realme, chaseth away freendes, and geueth hart to enmies of strange nations that wer in dzed, and finally domageth his person, and sclaundreth euery one.

¶ Whan Camille triumphed ouer the frenchemen, the day of his triumph he wrote these wordes in the Capitoll: O Rome, thou haste beene mother of all wise men, and stepdame to all fooles.

¶ These were worthy woordes of suche a lorde. And but if my remembraunce begyle me, certaynly Rome was more renoumed for wise persons, that came thither, than for the seates of warre that were sent from thens, Our auncient

# AVRELIVS.

cient Romaynes were more feared, for  
their wisdom and knowlage, than for  
theyr conquestes. All the earth feared  
them more, that tourned leaues of bo-  
kes in Rome, than them, that were ar-  
med with armure. For that cause Rome  
was neuer vanquished: and though  
their armies were deuided and broken  
yet they neuer lacked wise men. I can  
not saie it without teares, Rome is fal-  
len from the most height of hir estate,  
not for faute of money and armes, for  
to foyght with all, but for lacke of wyle  
men, and vertuous for to gouerne. Our  
forefathers wan like men, and we lese  
lyke simple childzen. All thynges that  
are distred of men: they atteigne by tra-  
uayle, susteine with thought, and de-  
parte fro, with great annoyauce. And  
the reason is this: There is nothyng so  
good, nor so well beloued, but the course  
of time, causeth vs to leaue it, and to  
disprayse and abhorre it, or to be weary  
therof. This is the vayne vanitee of the  
world, and lost time lost: for with their  
yong desires, they do refrayne their de-  
sires. They would oftentimes atteigne  
a thing, and after they studie how to go  
therfro agayne. And yet to shew fur-

# MARCVS

ther they lightnesse, that that cost mu-  
che, they geue for a litle price. That  
that they loue at one time, they hate at  
an other: and that that they with great  
studie and labour haue atteigned, with  
great fury they forgo. And me thinketh  
this is the ordinance of the goddis, that  
he that loueth shall haue an ende: and  
it that is beloued, shal take an end: and  
the tyme that we are in, shal end. Than  
it is reason, that the loue, wherewith we  
doo loue, shall ende in likewise. Thus  
our appetite is so dishonest, that in se-  
pyng we desyre it, & in desirynge we pro-  
cure it, and in procuring we atteigne it  
And in the attayning we abhorre it, and  
in the abhorryng, we leaue it: and than  
foorthwith agayn, we procure an other  
thyng, and that new procuring, we ab-  
horre agayne: in suche wise, that whan  
we beginne to loue a thyng, than we  
fall agayn to hate it, and in the falling  
to hate it, we begyn agayne to lous an  
other thyng. So thus finally, our lyfe  
doeth end, erre our couetise doeth leaue  
us. It is not thus of wisedome and  
knowlage, the which, if it ones enter  
into a mannes heart, it causeth hym to  
forget the trauayle that he took in the  
ate

# AVRELIVS.

attelgnyng thereof. For he taketh the  
tyme passe as good: and enioyeth with  
rightfull ioye, the tyme present, and ha-  
teth idelnes. For he is not content with  
that he knoweth, but inforceth his ap-  
petite, to knowe more, lounyng that o-  
ther leaueth: and leauynge that other  
loueth. Finally, he that is persightlie  
wise, sporteth in this worlde with tra-  
uayle, and in trauaylpyng in bookes, is  
his rest. We haue not to saie of all thin-  
ges, but of that we feele of theim. For  
it is an other maner to speake by simili-  
tude of a straunger, and of our owne ex-  
perience. And in this case I saie, that  
though we hope of no rewarde of the  
goddis, nor honour among men, nor me-  
more of the worlde to come: yet am I  
right glad, to be alonely a philosopher,  
to see howe gloriously the philosophers  
haue passed their tyme. I demaund one  
thyng, whan myne vnderstandyng is  
dulled in that I haue to dooe, and whan  
my memory is troubled, in that I haue  
to determyne, and whan my bodye is  
compassed with dolours, and whan my  
heart is charged with thoughtes, and  
whan I am without knowlage, and  
whan I am set about with perils, wher



# MARCVS

can I be better accompanied than with  
wise men, or els redyng among booke:  
In booke I fynde wysedome, wherby I  
maie lerne: also there I fynde worthy-  
nesse, whiche I mai learne: I fynde  
there prudence, to coun. I me: I fynde  
suche as be sorowfull, with whō I may  
wepe. I fynde them there that be merie,  
with whom I may laugh: I fynde there  
symple folke, at whom I may sport: I  
fynde that is nought, which I mai leaue:  
And finallie in booke I fynde, howe in  
prosperitee I ought to behaue me: and  
howe in aduersitee I ought to guide me.  
O howe happie is that man, that hath  
wel red: And yet more happi is he, that  
though he knoweth muche, yet stayeth  
vpon counsaile. And if this be true ge-  
nerally, than muche more it is necessa-  
rie, that he keepe the true waie, which  
gouerneth all other. It is a rule infal-  
lible, that a pryncce beinge wise, can ne-  
uer be symple good, but very good: and  
the pryncce that is ignozant, can not be  
symple yll, but verie yll. A pryncce, that  
is not well fortunate, his wisdom may  
greatly excuse him to his people, of his  
misfortune geuen to hym by fortune.  
Whan a pryncce is gretly beloued of his  
com,

# AVRELIVS.

commontie, and is vertuous of his person, than euery man saith, if he haue not good fortune: although our prynce wāt good fortune. yet his woorthy vertues sayle not: and though he be not happie in his intentes, yet at the least he sheweth his wisdom in the meane season. And though fortune denie hym at one howze, yet at an other tyme, she agreeth by his wisdom: And contrary wyse, an vnwyse prince, and hated of his people, by euill fortune, renneth into great peryll. For if yll succede to him in weightie matters, than incontinent it shall be said, it is by reason of the ignorance of hym selfe, or by yll counsaile of suche as be about him: and if goodnesse succede to hym, yt shal not be attributed by reason of his good gouernaunce, but that fortune hath suffered it, and not by the circumspect wisdom, that he hath had in the mean season, but that it was of the pitie that the goddess had of him. Than lieth it is thus, a vertuouse and a woorthy prince, in his idell tymes, ought secretly to reade in bookes, and openly to comon and counsel with wise men. And in case yll fortune will not permitte hym, to take their counsels, yet at the leaste,

He

# MARCVS

he shal recouer credence among his sub-  
 iectes. I will saie no more to you, but I  
 esteeme the knowlage of a wise person  
 so much, that if I knew, that there wer  
 Shoppes of sciences, as there is of other  
 marchaundise, I will geue all that I  
 haue, onely to learne, that a wise man  
 learneth in one daie. Finally I say that  
 I will not geue, that littell that I haue  
 lerned in one howre, for all the golde in  
 the worlde: And more glozy haue I, of  
 the bookes that I haue red, and of suche  
 woorkes as I haue wrytten, than of all  
 the victories, that I haue had, or of the  
 realmes that I haue wonne.

**¶** What a villayne saide to the Sena-  
 tours of rome in the presence of  
 the Emperour. Cap. xxxi.



His emperour, being sick,  
 as it is aforesaid, on a day  
 as there were with him di-  
 uers Physicians and Oas-  
 tours, ther was a purpose  
 moued among them, how  
 gretly Rome was changed, not al onely  
 in edifices, but also in customs, and was  
 ful of flatterers, and unpeopled of men,  
 that

# AVRELIVS.

that durste say the trouthe. Than the  
 Emperour sayed: the fyrst yere, that I  
 was consul, there came a pooze villain  
 from the river of Danubie, to aske ius-  
 tice of the Senate, agaynst a Censour,  
 who did diuers extorcion to the peo-  
 ple: and he had a small face, and greate  
 lippes, and holow eyes, his heare cur-  
 led, bare headed, his shooes of a doz-  
 kepes skinne, his coate of Botis beare,  
 his gyrdell of bull rusthes, and a wylde  
 eglantine in his hand. It was a strange  
 thing to se him so monstrous: and mer-  
 uayle, to heare his purpose. Certayn-  
 ly, whan I saw him come into the Se-  
 nate, I wende it had ben some beast, in  
 the figure of a man. And after I had  
 hard him, I iudged him one of the god-  
 des, if there be goddes amonge men.  
 And as the custome in the Senate was,  
 that the complayntes of the pooze per-  
 sons were harde, befoze the requestes of  
 the riche, this villayne had licence to  
 speake, and so began his purpose, wher-  
 in he shewed him selfe as bolde in wor-  
 des, as extreme and base in his arraie,  
 and said: O ye ancient fathers, and hap-  
 pie people, I Miles, dwellyng in a citee  
 on the river of Danubie, doo salute you  
 De

# M A R C V S

Senatours, that are here assembled in the sacred Senate. The dedes do permit and the goddes suffre, that the capitaines of Rome, with theyr greates pryde haue reduced vnder subiection, the unhappy people of Germanie. Greate is the glorie of you Romaynes, for youre battayles, that ye haue wonne through out all the worlde. But if wyters saye true, more greater shalbe your infamie in tyme to come, for the cruelties that ye haue done to the innocentes. My predecessours had people nigh to the flood of Danubie, and because they dyd yll, the earth wared drie, and they drew to the freshe water: than the water was noyfull to them, and they retourned to the main lande. What shall I say than your couetise is so great, to haue strangers gooddes, and your pryde so renowned, to commaund al straunge landes, that the Sea may not profite vs, in the depenes therof. nor the erth, to assure vs in the eares therof. Therfore I hope in the iust goddes, that as ye, without reason, haue caste vs out of our houses and possessions: so other shall come, that by reason, shall cast you out of Italie and Rome. An infallible rule it is, that he, that

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that taketh wrongfully an other mans  
 good, shall lese the right of his owne.  
 Regarde ye Romains though I be a vil  
 lain, yet I know, who is iust and right  
 wise, in holdyng his owne: and who a  
 tiraunt, in possessyng others. There is  
 a rule, that what so euer they, that be yll  
 haue gathered in many daies, the god-  
 des taketh fro them in one day: and con-  
 trary wise, all that euer the good haue  
 lost in many daies, the goddes restoreth  
 to them agayn in one day. Beleue me in  
 one thyng, and haue no doubte therin,  
 that of the vnlawful winnyng of the fa-  
 thers, there foloweth the iuste losse to  
 theyr children. And if the goddes tooke  
 from them that be yll, euery thyng, that  
 they haue wonne, as sone as it is won,  
 it were but reason: but in lettynge them  
 alone, therby they assemble by littel and  
 littell diuers thynges, and than, whan  
 they thinke least thereon: it is take from  
 them all at ones. This is a iuste iudge-  
 ment of the goddes, that sithe they haue  
 done yll to diuers, that some should doo  
 yll to theym. Certaynly it is not pos-  
 sible to any vertuous man, if he be ver-  
 tuous, that he take any tast in an other  
 mans good. And I am sore abashed,  
 how

M A R C V S.

how a man keepyng an other mā's good  
can liue one houre. Syth he seeth, that  
he hath done iniurie to the gods, slaun-  
dered his neighbours, pleased his ennes-  
mies, lost his frendes, greued them that  
he hath robbed, and aboue all, hath put  
his owne person in perill. This is a  
shamefull thyng among men, and cul-  
pable befoze the goddes, the man that  
hath the desyre of his werte, and the byt-  
toll of his workes at such libertee, that  
he taketh and robberth fro the poore, se-  
meth muche to him: but a greate deale  
of his owne semeth to him but littell.  
What an vnhappy man is he, whes-  
ther he be Breke, or latin, that without  
consideracion, wyl chaunge his good  
same into shame, iustice into wronge,  
right into tyranny, or trouth into lesing  
the certain into vncertayne, haupyng an  
nosaunce of his owne goodes, & die for  
other mens: He that hath his princi-  
pall intencion, to gather goodes for his  
chyl dren, and seke not for a good name,  
amonge them that be good: it is a iust  
cause, that he lese all his goodes, and so  
without good name to be shamefull a-  
monge them that be yll. Lette all co-  
uetous and auaricious people knowe,  
that

# AVRELIVS.

that neuer amonge noble men was got-  
 te good renoume, with spredying abrode  
 of yll gotten goodes. It can not endure  
 many daies, nor yet be hydden vnder co-  
 uert many yerres: a manne to be holden  
 riche among theſim that be riche, and  
 an honourable man among theſim that  
 be honourable: for he ſhall be infamed, of  
 that he hath gathered his richeſſe, with  
 greatte couetpſe: or kepeth it with ex-  
 treme auarice. ¶ If theſe couetous peo-  
 ple were as couetous of their owne ho-  
 nour, as they be of other mens goodes:  
 I ſwere to you, that the lyttell worme  
 or mothe, that eateth the gownes or clo-  
 thes of ſuche couetous people, ſhoulde  
 not eat the reſte of their lyfe, nor the  
 canker of infamy, diſtroie their good  
 name and fame at their deathes. Herke  
 ye Romaines, harke what I will ſape,  
 I woulde to the goddes, that ye coulde  
 taſt it. I ſee that all the worlde hateth  
 pride, and yet is there none, that ſolo-  
 weth mekenes and humilitee. Every  
 man condempneth aduoutrie, and yet  
 I ſee none, that lyueth chaſte: Every  
 man curſeth exteſſe, and I ſee none liue  
 temperately: every man prayſeth paci-  
 ence, and I ſee none that will ſuffre:  
 every



euery man blameth slouth, and I see none but they that be idel, euery one blameth auarice, & yet euery body robbeth. One thing I say, & not without weping I saie euery man, with his tounge only, prayseth vertue, & yet they them selues, with al their lymmes are seruantes vnto vices. I saie not this onely for the Romans, which bene in Illirie: But I say it by the senatours that I see in the senate. All ye Romans, in your dewtyes about your armes beare these woordes: Romanorum est debellare superbos, & parcere subiectis. That is, it pertayneth to Romans, to subdue them that bee proud, and to forgiue subiectes. But certainly ye may better saie: it perteyneth to Romans, to expell innocetes, and to trouble & ver wrongfully peasible people. For ye Romans are but distroiers of peasible people, and theues to rob fro other, that they sweate for.

**O**f diuers other thinges that the villayne saide before the Senate. Cap. xxxii.

**O** ye Romans, saied this villayne, what action haue ye, that are brought vp nygh to the ryuer of Tyber

AVRELIVS.

Wyther agaynst vs, that are nyshe to  
the ryuer of Dannbie: Haue ye seene  
vs frendes to your ennemies: or haue  
we declared vs your ennemies: or haue  
ye herde saye, that we haue leste our  
owne lande, and inhabyted any stränge  
landes: or haue ye herde, that we haue  
rebelled agaynst our lordes, or haue  
troubled any straunge realmes: or haue  
ye sent vs any ambassadours, to desire  
vs to bee your frendes: or hath anye  
hoste of ours come to Rome to dystrope  
you, as our ennemies: or hath anye  
kyng dyed in our realme, that in his tes-  
tament, made you heyres to our realme:  
or what antike lawe haue ye founde,  
wherby we ought for to be your subie-  
ctes: Of trowth in Almayne hereby,  
they haue felte your tyranny, as well  
as we haue herde of your renoume.

And more ouer I saie, that the names  
of the Romayns, and the crueltee of ty-  
rannes, arriued together in one day vpon  
our people. I wot not what ye wyll  
saie, that the goddes care not for the  
hardinesse of men: For I see, he that  
hath muche, doeth tyranny to him that  
hath but litell, and he that hath but  
lyttell, though it be to his insamp, wyll

serue him that hath much. So that dys-  
 ordred men appoynt them with secrete  
 malice, and secrete malice geueth place  
 to open theft: and the open robbery no  
 man resisteth. And therfore it cometh,  
 that the couetise of an yll man necessa-  
 rily is had to be complete, to the prei-  
 dice of many good men. One thyng I  
 will saie, that eyther the goddes ought  
 to thynke how these men shall haue an  
 ende, or els that the worlde must ende:  
 or els the worlde, to be no worlde. Or for-  
 tune must holde sure with you, if al that  
 ye haue won in. viii. C. yeres ye lese not  
 in. viii. daies. And where as ye are be-  
 come lordes ouer many, ye shall become  
 slaues to all the worlde. Certayne the  
 goddes shall be vniuste, without that  
 thyng come, that muste fall to the  
 worlde hereafter. For that man that  
 maketh hym selfe a tyraunt parforce, it  
 is ryght, that he retourne to be a slaue  
 by iustice. And it is reason, that sith ye  
 haue taken our miserable lande, that ye  
 kepe vs in Iustice. I haue great mer-  
 uayle of you Romaines, that ye sende so  
 symple persons to be our iudges. For I  
 sweare to the goddis, they can not de-  
 clare your lawes, nor vnderstand ours.

I wot

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AVRELIVS.

I wot not whither ye sent them thither  
or no, but I shall shew you what they  
do there. They take openly, what so e-  
uer is deliuered to theym: and they doe  
theyr profite with that thei desyre in se-  
crete. They chastise the poore person  
greuously, and thei forbere for money,  
them that be riche: they consent to ma-  
ny wronges, to bryng them after to the  
lawes: and without goodes it booteth  
not to demaunde iustice: and finally vn-  
der the colour that thei be iudges, vnder  
the Senate of Rome, they say they may  
robbe all the land. What is this, ye Ro-  
mayns: shal your pride neuer haue an  
ende in commanding, nor your couetise  
in robbing: Saie what ye wpll: If ye  
do it for our children, charge them with  
prons, and make theim slaues: If ye  
doo it for our goodes, goe thither & take  
theim: If our seruice doeth not content  
you, strike of our heades. Why is not  
the knyfe so cruell in our throtes, as  
your tyrannies be in our hertes: Doo  
ye knowe what ye haue doen, ye Ro-  
maynes: Ye haue caused vs to sweare,  
neuer to retourne to our wyues, but  
to flea our chyldren, rather than to  
kaue theym in the handes of so cruell

M A R C V S

tyrantes. We had leuer suffre the beastly  
mociōs of the fesse for. xx. oz. xxx.  
peres, than to die without wounde, le-  
uyng our children, slaues, ye ought  
not to doo this ye Romaines. A land ta-  
ken parforce, ought the better to be ru-  
led, to the intent, that the miserable cap-  
tiues, seyng iustice duely ministred to  
them, should therby forget the tyranny  
passed, and to set their hertes to perpe-  
tuall seruitude. And sith we are come to  
complayne of the grefes that your Cen-  
sours do vpon the fludde of Danubye,  
peraduenture you of the senate will here  
vs. What ye what they dooe? Marke,  
and I shall shew you. If there come a  
right pooze man, to demaund iustice, ha-  
uyng no money to giue, nor wyne to  
present, nor oyle to promise: they feede  
him with wordes, sayng how he shall  
haue iustice, but they make him to wait  
the littell that he hath, and geue hym  
nothyng, though he demaunde muche.  
And so the miserable person, that came  
to complain, returneth complaining  
on you all, cursyng his cruell destenies,  
and maketh exclamacion vpo the right  
wise goddes. I liue with acornes in win-  
ter, & cut downe the greene cozne in so-  
mer,

AVRELIVS.

mer, and sometyme, I go a fischyng for  
pastime, so that the most parte of my li-  
uynge is sedynge in the feildes, & ye wote  
not why: heare me, and I shall shewe  
you. I see suche tyranny in your censu-  
res, and suche robberies amonge the  
poore people, and I see such warres in  
that realme, and hope of so small reme-  
die in your Senate, that I am determi-  
ned as most vnhappy, to banyshe my self  
out of myne owne house, & honest com-  
panie, to thentent that my herte should  
not feelee so great a hurte. It is a greates  
paine to suffre the ouerthrow of fortune:  
but it is a greater ill, whan one feeleth  
it, and cannot remedie it, and yet with-  
out comparisson, my greattest greefe is,  
whan my losse mai be remedied, and he  
that may, wil not, and he that wyll, can  
not remedie it. O ye cruell Romayns, if  
the sorowes all only should bee reduced  
to memorie, that we suffre, my tongue  
should be weary, and all my membres  
faynt, and mine eyes should wepe blou-  
die teares, & my flesh would consume.  
This in my land may be sen with eyes,  
herd with eares, and felt in propre per-  
son. Certainly my heart departeth, and  
my soule is troubled, and mine entray-  
les

MARCVS

les breke. And I beleue yet, the goddes  
wil haue cōpassion. I will desire you to  
take my wordes for sclaunder. For ye  
Romaines, if ye be romaines, ye maye  
well see, that the trouble that wee haue  
commeth by men, and among men, and  
with men, and by the handes of men.  
Whan it is no meruaile, though menne  
feelee it as men. One thinge comforteth  
me, & diuers times among other, that be  
vnfortunat, it cometh to such purpose  
the whiche is, I thinke the goddes bee  
so right wise, that their fierce and cruell  
chastisement? come not but by our owne  
cruell shrewdnes, and our secrete sines  
a waketh vs so, that we haue open iustice  
But of one thyng I am sore troubled,  
because the goddes cannot be contented.  
For a good person, for a litle faute, is  
greatly chastised, and he that is yll, for  
many fautes is not punished at all. So  
thus the goddes forbear some, and some  
haue no mercie. Thus it seemeth that  
the Goddes will torment vs by the  
hands of such men as greue vs extreme-  
ly. So that if there were any iustice in  
the worlde, whan they chastise vs with  
theyr handes, we should not merite to  
haue our heades on the shoulders. There  
fore

AVRELIVS;

fore I saie to you, ye Romaynes, and  
 sweare by the immortall goddes, that in  
 xv. daies that I haue bene in Rome, I  
 haue sene suchedeedes done in your Sen-  
 nate, that if the least deede of theim had  
 bene done at Danubie, the galowes and  
 gybets, had bene hanged thicker of the-  
 ues, than the vineyard with grapes and  
 reilsyns. And sith that my desire hath  
 seen, that it desireth, my hert is at reiste,  
 in spredying abroad the poison that was  
 in it. If my tounge hath offended you in  
 any thyng, I am here redy to make re-  
 compence with my throte. For in good  
 soth, I had rather to wyne honour, of-  
 fering my self to the death, than ye shuld  
 haue it, in takyng my lyfe frome. Thus  
 this villayn ended his purpose. Then  
 the Emperour sayde: Howe thynke ye  
 my frendes, what kernel of a nut? what  
 golde of filthe? what graine of strawe,  
 what rose of thoznes, what marowe of  
 boanes, dyd he uncover? What reason  
 so hye, what wordes so well set, what  
 truthe so true, and what malice ope-  
 ned he so? He discovered the duitie of a  
 good man. And I sweare to you, as I  
 maie be deliuered from this euill fener  
 that I haue, that I sawe this villayne



# MARCVS

standyng a hole houre on the erth bold-  
lie, and we holding downe our heades  
abashed, and could not answere him a  
worde. The nerte day it was accorded  
in the Senate, to sende newe Iudges to  
Danubie. And we commanded the vil-  
lain to deliuer vs in wrytyng, all that he  
had saide, that it might be regestred in  
the booke of good saynges of straungi-  
ers. And the said villaine, for his wise  
wordes was made patrician, and so tar-  
ried still at Rome, and for ever was su-  
steined of the common treasure.

**H**owe the emperour desired the  
wealth of his people, and the  
people his wealth. ca. xxxiii.



**A**t the secōd yere that mar-  
cus was chosen emperour,  
y. xlv. yere of his age, as he  
returned fro the warres, y  
he had in conquering the  
Barmains, & the Fragōs,  
wher by he gotte glozy and riches for the  
Romaines empyre, he lay at Salō to rest  
him and to appoint his army, & to then-  
tent, that the Romaines should apparell  
his triumphe in Rome ryght glorious  
and

# AVRELIVS.

and richly, There was one thyng done,  
that was neuer seene befoze in Rome.  
foz the daie of his triumphe, by all the  
people & consent of the Senate, the prince  
Comodus, sonne to Marcus Aurelius,  
was chosen after the deathe of his fa-  
ther to bee Emperour vniuersall of the  
empire. He was not chosen by the peti-  
tion of his father, for he was agaynst it  
with all his power: sayng, that the em-  
pyre ought not to be geuen for the laude  
of them that be deade, but he shulde bee  
chosen for his owne good workes. Of-  
tentymes this emperour woulde saie,  
Rome shalbe lost whan the election shal  
be taken from the Senate, & the Empe-  
ror to inherite the empire by patrimony.  
¶ Nowe to retourne where as we left.  
This emperour beyng at Salon, study-  
ed soze to enter into Rome in good or-  
der, and Rome studied soze, how to re-  
ceyue him, as it apperteygned trium-  
phantly for suche a warre. He was soze  
desired of the empire: and euer he imagi-  
ned, how to do pleasure to the peple, and  
the people were ready to dye in his ser-  
uice. Diuers times was moued a plea-  
sant purpose in the Senate, whiche of  
these thynges was most to be loued: The  
em

# MARCVS

Emperour to loue the people of the empire, or the people of the empyre the emperour. On a date it was determined to sette iudges in that case: There were chosen the ambassadours of the Parthes and Rhodes: and vpon that effect they had writynge. It was layed for the Emperour the good deedes that he had doone in his absence, and the tokens of loue, that they had alwaies shewed in his presence. And on an other day the emperour moued an other question before the Senate: sayng, that it was a greater glory, to haue such subiectes, than the glory of the Senate, to haue suche an Emperour. Than the Senate saied nay: Affyrming that it is a greater glorie, that they had of him, than he coulde haue of theim. And in this maner the emperour gaue the glorie to the people, and the people to the Emperour. Thus in sport and plate they toke Iudges agayne. It was a meruaylous thyng to see the soy that they all had to proue their intenies. And the good emperour for a memorie gaue the laude to the people, because of their great obedience and serayce, and extreme loue that he had found in theim: And the happie people

# AVRELIVS.

people recounted the greates clemencie  
and mercy, that was in the Emperour,  
and his vertue and worthynesse in go-  
uernynge, his honestie of liuing, and his  
force and valiauntnesse in conquerynge.  
It was a great thyng to se the honour  
that the people gaue to the Emperour,  
and the good renoume that the Emperour  
gaue to the people. The wrytynges wer  
giuen to the straunge ambassadours, to  
the entent that the people might lerne to  
obey their pꝛinces: and pꝛinces to loue  
theyꝝ people. To thend that by suche ex-  
amples, as it was reason, the good peo-  
ple should enforçe theim selves, and the  
yll to withdrau. Thus this Emperour  
adressed his entre with his capteyns &  
captiues. And Rome apparailled theim  
with all their Senatours and people to  
receiue him. It was a huge thyng to  
see what people was at Rome to goe  
foorth to meete hym, and what people  
were with the Emperour to enter. They  
that were at Salon, had theyꝝ eies and  
also their hertes at Rome: and they that  
were at Rome had their heartes at Sa-  
lon. In suche wyse that their eies da-  
seled with that they saw, and theyꝝ her-  
tes asked for that they hoped to see.

Ther

# M A R C V S

There is no greater payne, than when  
the heart is deferred fro that it longeth  
foze to haue.

How the Emperour gaue Lucilla his  
doughter licence to spoze hir at  
his palaies. Cap. xxxiiii.



It is to be knowe that the  
Romains had a custome,  
that in the moneth of Ja-  
nuer they shuld make tri-  
umph; to their emperours;  
& in the same season that  
the triumphes were apparayled, Fan-  
stine the Emperesse caused diuers high  
persons to pray the Emperour to geue  
lycence to a doughter of his, to come  
from there as she was kepte, to the pa-  
lays, and spoze hir at the seastes. This  
mayden was named Lucie or Lucill:  
She was higher than the prince Lomo-  
dus hir brother: she was of a goodly  
gesture, and well proportioned of hy  
bodie, and well beloued of hir mother.  
And she resembled hir not all onely  
in hir beautie, but also in hir lyuynge.  
And though the requeste was pitifull,  
and they that made it familiar, and he

AVRELIVS.

to whome it was made, was the father, and the demaunder was the mother, and she for whome it was made, was the doughter: the emperour granted it, but not without greate displeasure. Neuerthelesse Faustyne was full gladd, and as soone as she had obtained licence, she brought hir doughter to the palais. And so whan the daye of the greate feast and triumph was come, the damoisell Lucille beinge oute of hir gouernaunce, and seying hir selfe at large, trustynge than vpon hir owne innocencie, toke no hede of any straunge malice, but laughed with theym that laughed, talked with theym that talked, and behelde theym that behelde hir, and without care she thought, that none thought yll of hir, because she thought yll of none: yet in those dayes a mayden to laugh amonge men was reputed as muche as a woman to haue doen aduontry with priestes of Greece so great was the honestie of Romayne women esteemed. And lightnesse of maidens was a great infamy: for they wer woys punished for one open lightnes: than for two secret fautes. Amonge all other, seven thynges the women didde obserue

# M A R C V S.

obserue surely, that is to witte, not to  
 speake muche at feastes, nor to eate mu-  
 che at bankettes, to drynke no wyne in  
 their health, nor to speake alone with  
 men: not to lift by their eyes in the tem-  
 ples, nor to stande longe lokynge out at  
 wyndowes, nor to go out of their hou-  
 ses, without their husbandes. The wo-  
 man taken with any of these dishoneste  
 thynges, was alwaies after reputed in  
 famed. Many thynges were suffred in  
 persons of small reputation, that were  
 not suffred in persons of honour. For  
 the noble womē could not conserue the  
 reputation of their estate, but by reason  
 of keepng their person in gret fear, and  
 good order. All thynges done unkynd-  
 ly is sin, and may be amended: but the  
 dishonest woman is alway ashamed.  
 The noble ladies, if they wil be taken as  
 ladies, whā thei excede other in richesse,  
 the lesse licence ought they to haue to go  
 wandryng about. Certainly the plentie  
 of goodes, and the libertee of persones,  
 should not be a spur to pricke theim for-  
 ward, but rather a bridell to kepe theim  
 in their closettes. And this is said, for by  
 cause that durpng the sayde feastes, the  
 damoisel Lucil, as a yong maiden, and  
 Faustin

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Faustine, hir louyng mother not beyng olde, sometyme a foote, and sometime ridyng on horsebacke, sometime openly, and sometyme meruapulous secretly, sometimes with company, and sometimes without companye, sometime on the daie, and now and than by night, thei would walke abroad in the streetes of Rome to see the fieldes of Vulcan: in gardens Saturnines, and drinke at the conduites of Aeres water, and sometime passe the tyme by the sayre riuer of Tyber, and all in suche other pleasaunte sportes as appertelgned to theyr age.

And though the fore rpyed prymetyme prouoked them therto, yet the grauitie of suche ladies shoulde not suffre it. I will saie one thyng, to the entent noble women shulde take aduertisement thereby, and that is this: I know not why, the was the greattest dissolution, eyther the walkyng abroad of Faustine and Lucille through the streetes and other places, or els the boldenesse of yll speakers, speakyng against theyr persons and good names. The withdrawinge and keepyng of women close, is a bydell to the toungues of all menne; and the womanne that dooeth



doth otherwyle, otherwyle putteth hie  
 good name in daunger. Of trouth it wer  
 better for a woman neuer to be bozne,  
 than to be defamed. Amonge the Ro-  
 mains the linnage of the Cornelies wer  
 had in great estimacion. For of them al  
 neuer none was found a coward, nor  
 a woman defamed: The histories shew,  
 that ones a woman of that linnage be-  
 yng onely defamed, was hanged on the  
 galowes by the handes of hir own kins-  
 folke. Surely it was well done of the  
 Romaynes, to the entent that the wyl-  
 kednesse of one woman shuld not suffre  
 yll fame to renne vpon the hole linnage:  
 where is ther noblenes without shame?  
 The thinges that touche honour, ought  
 not to be hyd, but amended by Justice,  
 and to put them to deth, that lose theyr  
 good fame. It is not sufficient for a per-  
 son to be good: but it is necessary that  
 he put from him all occasions that are  
 reputed to be yll. All the losses that  
 a man maye haue of any temporall  
 gooddes, can not counterpeise the least  
 losse of good fame. A man that lay-  
 eth his good fame for a sarthyng at a  
 but of this worlde, at a hundred shotes  
 scantly shall he shoote one a right.

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And contrarywyle the man that feareth  
 no shame, nor will not haue his person  
 in reputacion, there is no hope of good-  
 nesse in him. Than this emperour, as a  
 thymmaister, sayling in most sayre and  
 calme wether, forcasteth, and is in gret  
 thought and feare of tempestes and sto-  
 mes to come, in the feastes of his great  
 glorie, was in doubte of those two la-  
 dies, lest sodeinly any misfame shulde  
 folowe. And certainly he hadde great  
 cause. For it is an infallible rule of en-  
 uious fortune, that this present felicity  
 is geuen with a prycke of a sodayne  
 fall of mischaunce. In thinges natu-  
 rall, we see somtyme the sea calme, and  
 yet soorthwith foloweth a peryllous  
 storme, and consequently the great heat  
 of the daie, is sygne of thunder at night.  
 I say fortune commyng with some pre-  
 sent delyte or pleasure, is a token, that  
 by flatterynge vs, she hath made ready  
 hir snares to catche vs. Whan the  
 myller is sure, he dresseth his water  
 gate, and the labourer whan it rayneth  
 not, couereth his house, thynkyng that  
 an other tyme the wethers or raynes  
 will fall thereon, and trouble hym:  
 In lyke wyse a wyse and a vertuous  
 man

M A R C V S

man ought to thynke, as longe as he li-  
ueth in this worlde, he holdeth his fel-  
citee but at aduenture, and his aduer-  
sities for his natural patrimony. Among  
all them that coulde reioyce in prospe-  
ritie, and helpe them selfe in aduersities,  
this emperor Marcus Aurelius was  
one, whiche for any flatterynge that  
fortune coulde shew him, he neuer tru-  
sted in them, nor for mishap that he had  
in this lyfe, he neuer dispaired.

¶ What Marcus the emperor saied  
to a senatour as touchyng tri-  
umphes. Cap. xxxv.



¶ When these feasts wer passed,  
as Sertus Cheronense saith,  
a senatour named Albinus,  
saied to theperour, that same  
night that the triumph ceased,  
Say reioyce you, sith that this daie ye  
haue geuen so great rychesse to the com-  
mune treasure of Rome, & I haue scene  
your person in the triumph of glorie, & to  
the worlde to come of you & your house,  
you haue left perpetuall memorie. The  
emperour hearyng these wordes, saied in  
this maner: frendes, it is good reason  
we

we beleue the hunter knoweth the fierces  
nes of bestes, the phisicion the proprietie  
of herbes, the mariner, the perils and  
rockes, the capitaynes the chaunces of  
warre, & themperout that triumpheth  
the ioles that he hath of triumphes. As  
god helpe me, and as euer I haue parte  
with my predecessours, & as euer I haue  
good fortune, the thoughtes that I haue  
had for these feastes, haue ben far grea-  
ter than the feares that I haue had in  
all the iourneys and battailes afore.

And the reason therof is very euident  
to them that haue clere vnderstandyng,  
For alwaies in cruel battailes I was e-  
uer in hope to haue glozy, and fered not  
the ouerthrow of fortune. What coulde  
I lose in bataille? Nothing, but the life  
that is the least thyng that men haue,  
and alwaies in these triumphes I feare  
to lose renowne, whiche is the greatest  
gifte that the goddes haue giuen me. O  
how happy is that man, that loseth his  
lyfe, and leaueth behinde him perpetu-  
al memozy: Let every man vnderstand  
this that will, and say what they lyst:  
that amonge noble and valyaunt ba-  
rons, he dieth not, that leaseth his  
lyfe, and leaueth good renowne after

M A R C V S

hym, and much lesse time liueth he that hath an yll name, though he lyued many yeres. The auncient philosphiers reckened not the lyfe of a man, though he lyued many yeres, but they reckened the good woorkes that he had doen.

The Senate was importune vpon me, that I should take this triumphe, as ye knowe well: And I can not tell, whiche was greatest, theyr desyre or my resistance. You know not the trowth why I say thus. I did it not bycause of ambition, and for couetousnesse of glozy, but it was bycause I feare the humain malice. At the day of the triumphe ther was not so great ioy shewed by the simple persons, but the hyd enui was greater among the greatest persons. This glozy passeth in one day, but enuy abydeth a whole yere. The plentiful realme of Egypt, as happy in the bloudshed of their enemies, as in the waters of Nile had a law immouable. They neuer denied their mercy to the captiues overcome: nor they gaue no triumphe to theyr capitaynes overcomers.

The Caldeys mocke at the Romayn triumphes, affirmyng how there is not geuen so greate chastisement to the Capitain

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# AVRELIVS.

pitaigne of Egypt overcome, as the m<sup>is</sup>  
pire Romaine geueth to the ouercomer  
whan triumphe is giuen to hym. And  
surely the reson is good, for the thought  
full capitayne, whan he hath chased his  
ennemies, that Rome hath in straunge  
landes: with his owne propre speare, in  
payment for his trauayle, they geue  
him enemies in his owne propre lande.  
I sweare to you, that all the Romayne  
capitaines haue not leste so many ene-  
mies dead by sworde, as they haue re-  
couered ill wyllers the day of their tri-  
umphes. Let vs leaue the Caldeis, and  
speake we of our auncient Romaynes,  
which if they might retourne nowe a-  
gayn into the worlde, they woulde ra-  
ther be tied fast to the chariots as capti-  
ues, than to sit in them as victours. And  
the cause is, their neighbours seying the  
goyng as captiues, would be moued in  
their hertes to set the at libertie, so that  
the glory of theyr triumphes, is a mean  
to cause them to be persecuted and pur-  
sued. I haue red in writyng, and herde  
of my predecessours, and haue seene of  
my neighbours, that the abundance of  
felicitie hath caused cruell ennie to bee  
in many. ¶ In what perill are they  
19 iii that

# MARCVS

that with particuler honour woulde be  
 exalted among other: In the most high-  
 est trees the force of wyndes is most ad-  
 uanced. And in most sumptuous buil-  
 dinges lightenyng and thunder dooeth  
 most hurt, and in great thicke and drie  
 busshes, the fires kyndle moste easly:  
 I say, that in theim that fortune hath  
 reised most highly, agaynst them sprea-  
 deth the greatest poison of enuie. All  
 such as be vertuous, say: The mo ene-  
 mies thei subdue to the common welth:  
 the mo enuious thei recouer of their re-  
 noume. One ought to haue great com-  
 passion of a vertuo<sup>s</sup> man: because wher  
 he trauaileth to be good, there abyderh  
 one thyng in him, of the which all one-  
 ly at the death he seeth the end. And that  
 is, the more a man reconereth here re-  
 noume among straungers, the more he  
 is persecuted with enuy amōg his own  
 nations. Homere sheweth in his Illia-  
 des, that Caluicio kyng of the Argiues  
 was expert in clergie, valiant in armes  
 and indued with diuers graces, beloued  
 with his people aboue al other: he was  
 a great louer of his goddes, and woo-  
 shipper of them. This good kyng had a  
 custome, that in all thynges that he had  
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# AVRELIVS:

to doe, he would first aske counsaile in  
the temples of the goddis: He wold be-  
gin no warre against other, nor ordeine  
no new law nor custome in his realme,  
nor geue answer to the ambassadours,  
nor put no trespassours to death, nor set  
no tribute on his people: but firste he  
woulde goe to the temple, and make di-  
uerse sacrifices to knowe the will of the  
goddes. And bycause he went so often to  
the oracles, he was demaunded what  
answere the goddes made to him in se-  
crete, seeynge he was so importune.  
Then he answered and said: I demaund  
of the goddes, that they shold not geue  
me so littell, that euery man might a-  
bate and ouercome me. Nor also that  
they should geue me so muche, that  
euerie manne should hate me,  
but my desyre is to haue a  
meane estate, wherewith  
euery man might loue  
me. For I had leuer  
be felow with ma-  
ny in loue, than  
to be king of  
all with ha-  
tred and  
enue.



# MARCVS

**O**f the greatte reproche that the emperour gaue to his wyfe Faustine and hir doughter. Cap. xxxvi.



**A**fter the feastes of the triumph aforesaid, this good emperour willing to satisfie his hert, and to aduertise Faustine his wife, and to teache his innocent doughter, without knowlage of any other, he sent for theym, & said I am not content Faustine, with that your doughter doth, & yet lesse with that you doe, whiche are hir mother. These maidens, for to be good maidens ought wel to know how to obey their mothers. And the mothers to be good mothers, ought to know how to bring vp their children. The father is excused in geueng counsell, if the mother be vertuose, and the doughter shamfast. It is a great shame to the father, beyng a noble man, that his wife beyng a woman, shuld chastise his sonne: And a great inconuenience of the mother, beyng a mother, that hir doughter shulde be chastised by the handes of hir father. There was a lawe ordeyned by the Rodiens, that the father with

# AVRELIVS.

with the doughter, if she had a mother,  
 nor the mother with the sonne, yf he  
 wer a man, should not entermedle eche  
 with other, but all only men with men,  
 and women with women oughte to bee  
 brought vp. And the extremitie of the  
 lawe was suche, that among them that  
 dwelled in one house, seemed that the fa-  
 thers had no doughters, nor y mothers  
 no sonnes. O Rome, I wepe not to see  
 thy streetes vnpaued, nor that there is  
 so many gutters in thy houses, nor that  
 the battylmentes fall downe, nor the  
 tymber hewed downe, nor for the mini-  
 shing of thine habytautes, for all this  
 the tyme byngeth, and the tyme bea-  
 reth away: but I wepe for the, & wepe  
 for the agayne, to see the vnpeopled of  
 good fathers, and vnprouided in the no-  
 risshing of their sonnes. Our countrey  
 began to sayle vtterlie, whan the do-  
 ctrine of sonnes and doughters was en-  
 larged, and their byddell let go at liber-  
 tee. For there is now suche boldenesse in  
 men children, and so littell shamefast-  
 nesse in women children, with the disho-  
 nestie of the mothers, that where as  
 one father suffised for .xx. sonnes, and  
 one mother for .xxx. doughters, now .xx.  
 fa

# MARCVS

fathers, scantly dare undertake to bring  
 by wel one sonne, and. xxx. mothers one  
 daughter. I say to you thus Faustine,  
 you remembre not howe you are a mo-  
 ther, for you geue more lybertee to your  
 daughter then ought to be suffred. And  
 you Lucill remembre not, how you are  
 a daughter: For you shew to haue more  
 lybertee than requyrez for a yong mai-  
 den. The greatest gyft that the goddes  
 haue geuen to the matrones of Rome is  
 bycause thei are women, thei kepe them  
 selfe close and secrete: and because they  
 are Romains, they are shamefast. The  
 day whan the women want the feare of  
 the gods secretly, and shame of men o-  
 penly, beleue me, either they shall faile  
 the world, or the world them. The com-  
 mon welth requireth so great necessitee,  
 that the womē that dwel therein, should  
 be as honest, as the capteins be valiant:  
 For the captayns goyng to warre, desed  
 them, and the womē that abide at home  
 conserue them. As a. iiii. yerres passed  
 ye sawe the great pestilence, and I de-  
 maunded then to haue accompte of the  
 people, and I found, that of a. C. xl. M.  
 women well liuyng. lxxx. M. died: And  
 of. x. M. yll women, in maner thei sca-  
 ped

AVRELIVS.

ped all. I can not tell for whiche I  
 should weepe, either for the lacke, that  
 we haue of the good and vertuous wo-  
 men in our comon welth, or els for the  
 greuous hurt and damage, that these ill  
 and wicked women dooe to the youthe  
 of Rome. The fyre that brenneth in  
 mount Ethna, doth not so gret damage  
 to them that dwell in Scicile, as one il  
 woman doeth in the circuite of Rome.  
 A fierse beast and a perillous enemie to  
 the common welth, is an yl woman, for  
 she is of power to doe much harme, and  
 is not apte to folow any goodnesse. O  
 how many realmes and kynges reade  
 we of, to be lost by the yll gouernance  
 of women, and to resist agaynst them  
 hath ben rede of wisedome, perilles,  
 money, force, and worthinesse of many  
 me. The vices in a womā is as a grene  
 rede, that boweth euery way: but the  
 libertie and dishonestie is as a drie kire  
 that breketh in such wise, that the more  
 ill they utter, the more unlikely is the  
 redresse therof agayne. Beholde Fran-  
 scine, there is no creature that more de-  
 sireth honour, and worse kepeth it, than  
 a woman. And that this is true, see by  
 Iustice, by oracions, by wrytyng, and  
 other

# M A R C V S

other traualles man getteth renowme,  
but (without it be flattervng and saye  
speakyng) vnto this houre by anyke  
wrytyng, we can reade of few women  
or none, that either by wrytyng, redyng  
workyng with nedell, spinnyng, or by  
weaunyng, haue gotten them any great  
renowme. But as I say of one, I say of  
an other. Certaynly of diuers we rede,  
by keepyng them close in their houses,  
wel occupied in their businesses, tempe-  
rate in their wordes, saythfull to theyr  
houfbandes, well ordered in theyr per-  
sons, peassible with theyr neighboures,  
and finally beyng honest amonge theyr  
owne family, & shamfast among stran-  
gers, such haue attayned great renoum  
in theyr life, and left eternall memorie  
of them after their death. I wil tell you  
an antike historie, as profitfull to re-  
strein our vyces, as it dyd than augmet  
vertues, and it is this: The realme of  
Lacedemoniens (as plato saieth) was  
a season more dissolute by the vnchris-  
tines of women, than infamed by the  
crueltie of men: so that of al maner na-  
cions they were called Barbariens.  
What tyme Grece as a mother, called  
phylosophy of philosophers, Lycurge

# AVRELIVS.

a wise philosophier in knowlage, and a right iust kyng to gouerne, partly with his doctrine right profitable, and partly with his pure lyfe, made lawes in the sayd realme, wherby he extirped all vices, and planted all vertues. I can not tell, whiche of these two were most happie, The kyng, haupng so obedient people, or els the realme, to haue so rightfull a kynge. Amonge all other lawes, for women he made one greatly to be comended. He commaunded, that the father that died, shoulde giue nothyng to his daughter. And an other that neither liuing nor dyng, he should giue any money to mary hir with: to thentent that none should mary hir for hir riches, but all onely for hir goodnes: and not for hir beautie, but for hyr vertues. And where as now some be vnmariied, because they are poore, so than they abode vnmariied, bicause they were shamefull and victious. O tyme woorthy to be desyred, whan maydens hoped nothyng to be mariied with their fathers goodes, but by the vertuous workes of theyr owne persones. This was the time, called the golden worlde, Whan neyther the daughter feared to  
bee

M A R C V S.

be disinherited by the father in his lyfe,  
 nor the father to die sorie for leuyng  
 hir without remedy at his death. O  
 Rome, cursed be he that firste broughte  
 golde into thy house, and cursed be he  
 that fyrst began to hoorde vp treasure.  
 Who hath made Rome to be so riche of  
 treasure, and so poore of vertues: Who  
 hath made men wed vilaynes dought-  
 ers, and leaue the doughters of Sena-  
 tours vnmarried: What hath made,  
 that the riche mans doughter is deman-  
 ded vnwillyng, and the doughters of a  
 poore man none wil desire: What hath  
 caused that one marieth a foole wyth  
 b. C. marke rather than a wise woman  
 with. x. M. vertues: Chan I say, that  
 in this pointe the fleshe vanquisheth the  
 flesh, and ex euer the vanitee of the ma-  
 lice therof is vanquished. How cometh  
 it, that a couetous person wyll sooner  
 now a daies haue a wyfe, that is ryche  
 and foule, than one that is poore and  
 fayre: O vnhappy women that brynge  
 forth children, and more vnhappy bee  
 the doughters, that are bozne: whiche  
 to haue them married, no store is set by  
 the bloud of their predecessours, nor the  
 saugur of their freendes, nor the value  
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AVRELIVS.

of their workes, nor the beantie of theyr persones, nor the clenness of their lyfe.

Cursed worlde, where the daughter of a good mā, without money, shal haue no mariage. But it was not wont to be so. for in the auncient tyme, whan they treated of mariages, fyrst they spake of the persons, and after of the goodes: Not as they do at this houre, in this vnhappy tyme: for now they speake firste of goodes: and laste of all of the person. In the saide golden worlde, firste they spake of the vertues, that the personne was endowded with, and whā they wer married, in sportyng, they wolde speake of the goodes. Whan Camillo triumphed vpon the Gaules or Frenchemen, he had then but one son, and he was such one, that his personne merited greatte laudes. And for the renoume of his father, dyuerse kynges desyred to haue hym to theyr sonne: and dyuerse senatoures desyred to haue him to theyr sonne in lawe. This younge manne, being of the age of. xxx. yeres, and the father at. lx. was importunately stirred by his naturall freendes, and desired of straunge kynges, for to marrie hym: but alway the olde Camyll repugned the



M A R C V S.

the counsell of his frendes, and the importunitie of the strangers, whā it was demaunded, why he determined not vpon some mariage for his sonne, sith thereby shoulde folow the restfull lyfe of the yonge man, and the quietnesse of him selfe in his age. He answered: I will not mary my son, bycause some offer me ryche doughters, some noble of lynnage, some yonge, and some fayre: but there is none hath sayde to me, I giue you my vertuose doughter. Certainly Camil merited to haue triumph, for that he did. And he deserued eternall memory, for that he saide. I saie to you Faustine all these wordes, because I see you lede your doughter to the theatres and places, and doe bryng hir into the Capitoll. You put hir to the keepng of the swardplayers, you suffre hir to see the tumbleres, and yet ye do not remembre, that shee is younge, and you not aged: ye go into the stretes without licence, and play by the ryuers. I finde no villany therein, nor thinke that your doughter is yll; but I saie it, bycause you geue occasion, that she shoulde not bee good. Beware Faustine, neuer trust in the case of the fleshe of younge people.

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AVRELIVS.

For haue no confidence in olde folkes.  
 For there is no better wate, than to fles  
 the occasion of al thinges. For this in  
 tent the virgins Vestales are closed vp  
 betwene the walles, to eschew the oc  
 cassions of open places, not to bee more  
 light and foolishe, but to be more sadde  
 and vertuose, fleyng occasions. The  
 yong shall not saie, I am yong and ver  
 tuouse, nor the olde shall not saie, I am  
 olde, and broken. For of necessitee, the  
 drye flaxe will brenne in the fyre, and  
 the grene flagge smoke in the flamie. I  
 saie, that a man being a diamond encha  
 red among me, yet of necessitie he ought  
 to be quicke and mery amonge women.  
 And as ware melteth in the heate, we  
 can not deny, that though the wodde be  
 taken fro the fire, and the ymbres quen  
 ched, yet neuer the lesse the stones often  
 tyme remayne hotte and bzenning. It  
 lykewyse the fleshe, though it be cha  
 rised with hotte and drye maladies, or  
 consumed by many yeres with trauarll,  
 yet concupiscence abydeth styll in the bo  
 nes. What nede is it to blasen the ver  
 tues, and deny our naturalitees? Cer  
 tainly there is not so croked a horse, but  
 yf he see a mare, he wyll bzale ones or  
 twice,

M A R C V S

twisse. There is no man so yong nor old,  
but let him see yonge damoyseles, eyther  
he will giue a sigh or a wishe: In all vo-  
luntary thynges I denye not, but that  
one maie be vertuous: but in naturall  
thynges, I confesse euery man to bee  
weake. Whan ye take the wood fro the  
fyrre, it leaueth brennyng. Whan somer  
cometh the colde wynter ceaseth: whan  
the sea is calme, the waues leaue their  
beheement mouyng, whan the sonne is  
sette, it beshyneth not the worlde. I wil  
saie that than, and not before, the fleshe  
will ceasse to payne vs, whan it is laid  
in the graue. Of the fleshe we ar borne,  
and in the fleshe we liue, & in the fleshe  
we shall dye, and thereby it foloweth,  
that our good lyfe shall sooner ende than  
our fleshe. Oftentimes some helosome  
fleshe for meate corrupteth in an unhol-  
some pette, and good wyne sometyme  
sauoureth of the scyst. I saie, though  
that the werkes of our lyfe be vertuous,  
yet shall we feele the stynche of the weke  
fleshe. I saie this Faunstine, sith age  
can not resist the hotte enterpryse, howe  
can the tender memmbres of youth resist  
it: you beyng the mother, without you  
go the right way, she being your doughter

AVRELIVS.

It can not go the same waye. The Ro-  
 mayn matrones, yf they wyll nourish  
 their daughters well, ought to kepe  
 these rules, Whan they see, that they  
 woulde goe abrode, than breake theyr  
 legges: and if they woulde be gasyng,  
 than put out theyr eyes, and if they wil  
 harke, stoppe theyr eares, if they wyll  
 giue or take, cutte of their handes: yf  
 they dare speake, so w by their mouthes  
 and if thei wil entend any lightnes, bur-  
 rie them quicke. Wordes ought to be gi-  
 uen to an yll daughter: and in steede of  
 presentes and giftes at hir weddyng,  
 giue hir woozmes: and for hir houle a  
 graue. Take hede Faustine, if you wyll  
 haue greate soy of your daughter, take  
 fro hir the occasions, wherby she shall  
 be yll. To vndersette a house, behoueth  
 diuers proppes: And if principals be  
 taken away, it wyll fall downe. I wyll  
 tell you, women are so fraple, that with  
 keepers with great peine, they can kepe  
 theym selfe: and for a small occasion,  
 they wyll lose altogether. How many  
 yll hath ther be, not bicause they wold be  
 so, but because they folowed such occasi-  
 ons, the which they ought to haue eschu-  
 d. It is for me to entre into this battel,

M A R C V S

but yet it is not in me to attayne the victorie. It is for me to entre into the sea, yet it lieth not in my handes to escape the perill. It is in the handes of a woman to enter into the occasion, and after that she is therein, it is not in hir handes to deliuer hir from faute.

**H**ow the emperour counsayled Faustus, to eschue the pl occasions from his daughter. Cap. xxxvii.



**P**erduetur Faustus in ye wil say to me none may seke to your daughter Lucill, but if you here it: noz se hir but in your sight, noz hide hir, but you knowe where, noz make none appointment, without your knowlage. And at this houre you know not, that they that do hate hir, and would hir ill, what dishonour their tongues do speke of hir. New loue in yonge blude in the springyng tyme and flourisshyng yowth, is a popson, that forthwith spreadeth into every bayne: It is an herbe, that by an by entreth the entrayles: a swounyng, that incontinently mortifieth all the membez, & a pestilence, that sleeth

fleeth the hertes, and finally it maketh  
 an end of all vertues. I wot not what  
 I say yet, although I knowe what I  
 wyll say: For I wold neuer blasen loue  
 with my tongue, without I were sore  
 hurt in mine vnderstanding. Diuide sat-  
 eth in his booke of the arte of loue, Loue  
 is I wot not what, that cometh I wot  
 not whens, who sent it I wot not, it en-  
 gendzeth I wot not how, it is conten-  
 ted, I wot not wherwith, it is felte, I  
 wot not how ofte, nor I wot not wher-  
 fore. And finally loue taketh roote with  
 out breakyng of the flesh outwarde, or  
 percying the entrayles inwarde. I wot  
 not what Diuide meaneth hereby: but  
 I trowe whan he saied these wordes, he  
 was as farre banished from him selfe,  
 as I am at this time from my selfe. O  
 Faustine, they that loue together, shew  
 the signes of theyr heartes by dyuers  
 waies, and in slepyng they reason and  
 speake: and by signes they vnderstand  
 eche other. The great voice outwarde  
 is signe of littell loue inwarde: And  
 the greate inwarde loue keepeth sy-  
 lence outwarde. The entrayles wyth  
 in embzased in loue, cause the tongue  
 outwarde to be muet. He that passeth

# MARCVS

his life in loue, ought to haue his mouth close. And to the intent that ye shall not thinke, that I speke fables, I wil proue this by auncient histories.

**¶** We finde aunciently, that in the yere a hundred and. lx. after the foundation of Rome, Estrasco a yonge Remyne that was dumbe, and Ueronne a sayre ladie of the Latines, that was dumbe also. These two saw eche other on the mount Celsoit at a feast, and there fell in loue eche with other. And their hertes were as soore fired in loue, as their tonges were tied fro wordes. It was a meruaylous thyng to see them, and fearefull to note here. The yonge ladie came fro Salon to Rome: and he went fro Rome to Salon, by the space of thirtie yeres together without the witting of any person, nor they two spake not. Than at laste died the husbnde of the Ladie Ueronne, and the wyfe of Estrasco, and than they discovered theyr loue, and treated a mariage betweene theim, of whom descended the noble lynage of our Scipions, which wer more liberal in the seates of armes, then their father and mother were in their tounes. Than Faustine marke this thyng:  
littel

AVRELIVS.

littell aduantage it had bene to haue cutte out the tounge of the two dumbe folkes; to haue remedied their loue, and not to haue cut out their hertes.

¶ Also I shall tell you of Masinissa, a woorthy knight of Numidie, and Sopharise a famous Ladie of Carthage, all onely by one sight, as they saue ech other on a ladder, he declared his desire vnto hir: and she knowyng his luste, breakyng the ores of feare, and lystyng by the ankers of shame, incontinent released the sailes of their hertes, and with the shyppes of theyr persons, thei ioyned eche to other.

¶ Here maie we gather, how the first sighte of their eyes, & knowlage of theyr persons, and the league of their hertes, and the marriage of their bodie, and the pardicion of their estates, and the infamy of their name, in one daie, in one howre, in one momente, and in one step of a ladder were agreed. What will ye that I say more to this purpose? do you not know, that Helein the Greeke, and Parys the Troian, of two straunge nations, & of farre countreys, with one onely sight in a tēple, their willes were so knitte together, that he toke hir as his



# MARCVS

captiue, and she abode his prysoner.  
In Paris appered but smalle force,  
and in hie but lyttell resistance. So that  
in maner, these two yonge persones,  
and one prouryng to vanquyshe, and  
the other sufferyng to bee vanquysshed,  
Paris was cause of his fathers death;  
and Delayne of the infamie of hie hus-  
bande, and they bothe of their owne  
deathes, losse to their realmes, & sclan-  
der to all the worlde. All this lone cau-  
sed one onely sight.

¶ Whan great kyng Alexander would  
haue geuen battayle to the amazones,  
the quene capitain of them no lesse faire  
than stronge and vertuous, came to a  
ryuer syde, and the space of an howre  
eche of them behelde other with their  
eyes without speakyng of any worde,  
and whan they retourned to theyr ten-  
tes, the fierenes was turned into swete  
wanton amorous wordes.

¶ Whan Pyrrhe the faithfull defender  
of the Tarentines, and renoumed kyng  
of Epyrotes, was in Italy, he came to  
Naples, and he had not bene there but  
one daie, the same season there was a  
ladie in the same citie, named Gama-  
licise, of a highe lignage, and greatly  
este

# AVRELIVS.

esteemed in beautie: The very same daye she was gotten with childe, and shamed throughout all Italie, and was thruste out of the citie, and after she was deliuered of childe, she was slaine, by one of hir owne brethren.

¶ Also Cleopatra in the prouince of Bithinie, in the wood Sehin, made a goodly banquet or solemne feast to Marcus Anthonius hir loue. And though she was not very honeste, yet had she with hir right chaste women: and thus she banked endured a gret part of the night, and the wood beyng thicke, the young damselfs were not so wply to hide them, but the younge men Romaines founde them: so that of .lx. daughters of the Senators. .xv. were gotten with childe among the thicke bushes: whiche thynge made a great sclaunder in the people, and augmented the infamie of Cleopatra, and minished the honestee of Marc Anthony.

¶ Thus as I haue shewed of a smalle noumbe, I coulde saie of many other. All men are not men, nor all women be not women. I say it because I should it shuld be said, let it touch them that it toucheth, and let them that can, vnderstande

# MARCVS

stande me. There is some shoppes, that  
 are so light, that they will sayle with a  
 lyttell wynde: and there be some milles  
 that will grinde with a little water.  
 I saie there be some women so byttell  
 that as a glasse with a fillop will breake  
 and will slyp with a lyttel myze. She w  
 me faustine, haue you suffered your  
 doughter to spake but with hir vncles,  
 and kept company but with hir cosins:  
 I saie in this case as muche wplynesse  
 hath the mother as the doughter to ren  
 in peryll. Doe you not know, that the  
 quicke fyre doth not forbear the wood  
 be it wete or dype, but in like wise it con  
 sumeth the harde stoanes: Doe you not  
 knowe, that the hunger excessiue cau  
 seth beastes to deuour with their teeth  
 the thyng that was bred in their entrai  
 les: Doe you not knowe, that the god  
 des made a lawe ouer all thynges: ex  
 cepte on louers, because they maie not  
 abide it: And doubtlesse it is right wyle  
 lie doone, thatROME condemneeth not  
 these foolishe innocentes, because they  
 haue none vnderstandyng. The goddes  
 geue no pain to amorous people because  
 they are deprived fro reason: ye knowe  
 whan I was censure, there was a yong  
 woman

AVRELIVS.

woman that had a childe by hir owne  
 father, and an other that had a childe by  
 hir sonne, and a niece by hir propre un-  
 cle: and there was sentence giuen on  
 them, that the fathers should bee caste  
 to the Lyons, and the children buried  
 quicke, and the mothers were bzente in  
 the camp of Mars. The matters wa so  
 horrible to here, that I might not en-  
 dure to see the cursed men. And I com-  
 manded by my decrees, that none shold  
 be so bolde to speake in suche a case any  
 more. And if this case were fearefull to  
 men, then certaynly the Romaine ma-  
 trones ought to liue chastly. Than if the  
 fyre of the father doo chase the dought-  
 ter, enflameth kinsfolke, and bourneth  
 theim selfe: ye may be sikre, if he fynde  
 after eyther colyn or saye sister, the fla-  
 mes of his concupiscence will not leaue  
 to take holde on hir for any parentage.  
 If this riottouse fleshe wpll obey rea-  
 son, than it may be, that your dought-  
 ter may speake liberally with hir cou-  
 sins: but sith that passion repugneth so  
 much at reason, I counsel you truste not  
 to muche in hir bzethzen. You see by ex-  
 perience, that the worme that is bredde  
 in the tymbze, eateth the same tymbze:  
 and

# MARCVS

and the mothers that are bred in the clothes, eateth the same cloth. I saie that sometime a man bzigeeth vp in his house some person, that after taketh his lyfe from him. Faustine take this for a warning, that I haue said for a warning, and these last wordes I geue you for counsell, If you wpll kepe your selfe from thought, and your daughter from perill, alway let your daughter be occupied with some good woorkes. When the handes are occupied with any good exercise, than the heart is bayde from many ydell and bayne thoughtes. Every lightnesse dooen in youthe breaketh downe a loope of the defence of our life, but idelnesse, wherby our enuy entreth, is it, which openeth the gate to all vices. Faustine will you wite, I see dayly the pardicion of the yong Romain daughters. For as soone as they be bozne, they presume to be amorous: they as be thoughtfull, with the rechelesnesse of the father, and wantonnesse of the mother, leaue the iuste trauayle, and take vniust idelnes. Of ydell mocion and outragious thoughtes the eyes take licence without leaue, the mynde alreth, and the will is hurte: and finally thyn-  
kyng

kyng  
thot  
all t  
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A V R E L I V S .

kyng to the white, that amorous men  
shote at, they remaine as a butte full of  
all vices. And in conclusion there is no  
thyng that more rechaceth the ball of  
the thought (in this play) than the hand  
set a worke therewith.

¶ What thought Marcus the emper  
our tooke for the mariage of his  
doughters. Cap. xxxviii.



¶ Than the good emperor  
Marcus, hauing a clere  
vnderstanding, & a qui-  
ete wit, toke right great  
hede of thinges that were  
past, prudently waiyng  
thynges present, & thyn-  
ges to come. Seynge that the pardicion  
of princes, lay all in wyll, totally ge-  
uyng them self eyther to strange thyn-  
ges, forgettyng their owne, or els to en-  
tend to their owne, nothyng regarding  
straunge thynges. His herte was so a-  
greable to hym, that neither the highe  
busineses of them: nor for all the affay-  
res of his house, he woulde not leue one  
of thempire vnsped. I say this, bycause  
this emperor Marcus had foure dought-  
ters

M A R C V S.

ters, whose names were Lucille, Por-  
sena, Matrīna and Domicia. All resem-  
bled their mother in excellent beautie,  
but they resembled not their father in  
honestie and vertuousnes. And though  
they wer in gouernaunce vnder the  
maytresses out of his presence, yet he  
had them alwaies in memorie: and the  
elder they were, the more studie and  
thought he tooke for them: and whan  
they came to complete age, he studied to  
fynde provision for theini. It was a lau-  
dable custome, that the daughters of  
the officers of the senate, shuld not ma-  
ry without licence, nor the emperours  
daughters without the aduise of the  
senate. Whan it was so, that one of  
the sayde pryncesses his daughters, be-  
yng of age, and of wyll to be married,  
hir father seying hir importunitie, to ac-  
complishe hir desire, bicause he was  
sicke, he sent for Faustine, that she shuld  
goe and commune in the Senate. The  
which with all hir power she withstode  
bycause that secretly she had treated  
for an other marriage for hir daughter.  
And openly she excused hyr selfe, saying  
that hir daughter was to yonge and  
tender of age: and as the goddess hadde  
giuen

AVRELIVS.

yeuen age sufficient to the father, so had not the daughter of yeres. When therefore vnderstode this, he called Faustine to his bedde syde, where as he laye, and said: Dyuers thynges are dissimuled in perticuler persons, the lest of thyn is not to be suffered in them that shoulde ensigne all other: The prynce is neuer well obeyed, but if he haue good credence among his people. I saie this Faustine, because you doe one thyng in secrete, and saie an other openly. Here in sayleth the credence of so high a lady, and putteth inconuenience in the auctoritee of so great an empire. If ye suppose my good desyres be sinester in your hart for the welthe of your owne chyl dren: how shuld we hope than in any of your good woorkes for the children of straungers? It seemeth to you better, to gyue your daughter to theim that demaund hir of the mother, and refuse theim that the father doth chuse. Certainly because ye be a woman, you deserue pardon: but in that you are a mother, you augemēt your fault. Do you not know, that marriages are guided some by fortune, and some by vertues and wisdom? Such as demaund the daughters of the fathers,  
beloue



M A R C V S.

beleue me, their eyes beene more vpon  
their owne propre brilitie, than vpon  
the welth of an other. I knowe wel you  
brynng sooth the children, but the goddes  
wil mary them, sith thei haue endew  
ed theim with so meruaylous beautie.  
Dooe you not knowe, that the beau  
tie of womenne setteth straungers on  
desyre, and putteth neighbours in sus  
pection, to great men it geueth force, to  
meane men enuie, to the parentes infamie,  
and perill to the persone selfe?  
With great peine it is kept that is de  
sired of many. Of trouth I say the be  
autie of women is nothyng but a signe  
for ydell folke: and an erly wakyng for  
theim that bee lighte: where as of the  
straunge desires lieth the renoume of  
theim selfe. And I deny not but that a  
light person sercheth sooner a woman  
with a fayre face, than one of honeste li  
uynge: But I say, that a woman, that  
is marved onely for hir beautie, many  
hope in hir age to haue a sozr lyfe. It is  
an infallible rule, that she that was ma  
ried for hir fayrenesse, is hated for hir  
fowlenes. What trauayle he offereth  
him selfe vnto, that maryeth a fayre  
woman: It behoueth him to suffre hir  
pride,

pride, for beautie and folle alwaie god  
 together. Also he must suffre hir expen-  
 ces, for soly in the head, and beautie in  
 the face bene two wourmes, that frette  
 the lyfe, and wasteth the goodds. Also  
 he muste suffre hir ryottes, for a fayre  
 woman will that none but she haue hir  
 commandementes in the house: Also  
 he muste suffre hir nice minionnesse, for  
 every fayre woman wyl passe hir life in  
 plesure: also he must suffre hir presump-  
 tion, for every fayre woman wyl haue  
 preeminente befoze all other. Finally he  
 that marieth with a fayre womā, appa-  
 raieth him to a right great aduenture,  
 and I shall tell you wherefoze. Surely  
 Carthage was neuer so enuironed with  
 Scipions, as the house of a fayre wo-  
 man is with lyght persons. O vnhappy  
 housbande, whan his spyryte is at rest,  
 and the body slepyng, than these lyght  
 persons wyl come about his housz, dis-  
 yng his body with ielosity, castyng their  
 eyes to the wyndowes, scalyng the wal-  
 les with ladders, or clymyng ouer, syn-  
 gyng swete songes, playng on dyuers  
 instrumentes, watchyng at the gates,  
 treatyng with baudes, vncoueryng the  
 house, and waityng at euery corner ther

M A R C V S

of. All these thynges in case they shote at  
the prycke of the womans beautie, they  
leauie not to shote at the butte of the so-  
rowfull housbandes good name. And  
whether this be true or not, reporte me  
to my selfe, that marped me with your  
beautie: and lette theim wite of my re-  
noume that go so about the citee. I say  
much, but truely I feele more. No man  
complaineth of the goddis for geurnge  
hym a soule wife amonge his destenies,  
Whyte syluer is not wrought but in  
blacke pytche: and the tender tree is not  
conserued but by the hard rynd, I say  
the man that marieth a sowle wife, lea-  
deth a sure lyfe, let euery man chole as  
he lysteth: and I saie, a man that mari-  
eth a fayre wife, casteth his good name  
at hasard, and putteth his lyfe in peryl.  
All the infamy of our pzedecessors stode  
in one exercisynge of dedes of armes: and  
now al the pastime of y<sup>e</sup> Womain youthe  
is to serue ladies: Whan a woman is  
famed to be faire, than euery man go-  
eth thither, and taketh great peine to  
serue hir, & the woman woll be seene. I  
say Faustine, you neuer saw a yong dam-  
sel Womain greatly renomed in beauty,  
but eyther in dede or in suspicion there  
sola

folowed some yll name of hir. In that  
 litle that I haue red, I haue herd of ou-  
 uers fayre women, both of Grece, Ita-  
 ly, Barthe, & Rome, and they be not put  
 in remembrance, because they wer faire  
 but for the great perils and heuy chan-  
 ces that by their beauties fell in the  
 world. For in maner by reason of their  
 excellent beauties they were visited in  
 their own landes, and by their infamy  
 shamed through all the worlde.

¶ When the realme of Carthage was  
 flourishinge in ryches, and happy in  
 armes, they ruled the common welth by  
 wyle philosophers, and susteyned it by  
 discrete armes on the sea: Dminius the  
 philosopher was as greatly esteemed a-  
 mong them, as Homer among the gre-  
 kes, or Cicero amonge the Romaines,  
 he liued in this worlde sixe score yeres  
 and. ii. Of the whiche happie age. lxxx.  
 yeres he ruled quietly as a baron moste  
 peassible of mynd: and was as straunge  
 to women, as familiar with his booke.  
 ¶ Then the Senate seying he was so bro-  
 ken with the common welth, and with  
 drawen from all naturall recreacions,  
 they desired hym with greate instance  
 to be married, bycause that memory  
 As it might

might be had of so perfecte a wyse man  
 in tyme to come: and the more impo-  
 tunate they were, the more he resisted,  
 and saide, I will not be married: for yf  
 she be foule, I shall abhorre hir: if she be  
 ryche, I must suffre hir: if she be poore  
 I must maynteyne hir: yf she be faire,  
 I must take heede to hir: if she bee a  
 shew, I can not suffre hir: and the least  
 pestilence of al these, is sufficient to flea  
 a. M. men. With such wordes this wise  
 man excused him selfe: and he in his  
 age, by reason of his great studie, loste  
 his syght. And the solitarines of his  
 swete libertie constrayned him to take  
 company of a woman, and she had by  
 him a doughter, of whom descended the  
 noble Amilcares of Carthage, compe-  
 titours of the Scipions of Rome, the  
 whiche she wed no lesse worthinesse in  
 defence of Carthage, than ours wer for-  
 tunate to augment Rome.

**T**ell me faultine, may not suche sus-  
 pection falle vppon your doughters,  
 though their vertue succour in the perill  
 and their honestie assure their persons?  
 I wyll discouer a secret thyng to you.  
 There is nothyng, that can be so quiet-  
 hely committed, if a woman be enui-  
 roned

AVRELIVS.

roned with chaste keepers, and feminine  
shamefastnesse. Stedfastly they desire,  
& with greate leisure they procure these  
thynges, and lightly may be atteigned,  
There is nothyng so certayne, but that  
the wealth of an other is matter for the  
owne euill. And Pauline ye knowe,  
that the most honest women, by our ma-  
lice are most desired. Certaynely they  
shamefastnesse and keepyng close, be a  
rowes in defence of our honestie. We  
rede not, that bloud richesse nor beautie  
of the vnhappy matrone Lucrece was  
the cause, that she was desired: But the  
clerenesse of hir visage, the grauitie of  
hir person, the purenesse of hir life, the  
keepyng of hir selfe close in hir house, the  
exercitue of hir tyme, and credence a-  
monge hir neighbours, and the great  
renoume that she had amonge stran-  
gers, waked the foolish Tarquine to  
committe with hir aduoutrie by force.  
What thinke you? Wherof came this?  
I shall shew you. We that be yll, are  
so yll, that as yll we vse the goodnesse  
of them that be good. This is no fault  
to the ladies of Rome, but rather in the  
immortall goddess. Their cleane hone-  
stie accuseth our cruell malice. Pauline  
Will you

# MARCVS

you say, your daughter is to yong to be  
 married. Doo you not know, that the  
 good father ought to endoctrine his son-  
 nes from their yong age: and to prouide  
 for his daughters whiles they be yonge.  
 Of a trouthe, if the fathers be fathers,  
 and the mothers mothers: as seone as  
 the goddes haue giuen them a dought-  
 ter, forthwith they ought to fix in their  
 hertes a new remembrance, and not for-  
 get it: tyll they haue provided theyr  
 doughter an housebande. The fathers  
 ought not to tarie for riches, nor the mo-  
 ther for high lignage, the better to ma-  
 rie them: so what with the one and the  
 other, the time passeth, and the dought-  
 ers war aged: and than after this ma-  
 ner, they be to olde to be married, and  
 to abyde alone they bee maydens: and  
 to serue, they be womenne, thei liue in  
 pefne, the fathers in thought, the pa-  
 rentes in suspicion, least they shoulde  
 be losse. What great Ladies haue I  
 knowen, daughters of great senatours,  
 and not for faulte of richesse, nor of ver-  
 tues in their persons, but all onely for  
 slacke of time, and drinping of one houre  
 to a nother, so that at last thei death  
 came to the fathers, and no prouidence  
 made

# AVRELIVS.

made for the daughters. So that in maner some were couered vnder the earthe after their death, and some buried with forgetfulnesse: Either I he, or I haue red in the lawe of the Rodians, where as it is wrytten. We commaund the father in marriage tenne sonnes, to trauaile but one daie: but to mary one vertuous daughter, let him trauayle tenne yeres: ye and suffre the water come to the mouth, sweate drops of bloud, trauayle the stomake, dyserpte all his sonnes, lose his goodes, and aduenture his person. These wordes in this lawe were pitifull for the daughters, and not lesse greuous to the sonnes. For .x. sonnes by the lawe of men are bound to discover, & to go ouer all the worlde: but the daughter, by the good law ought not to go out of the house. I saie moreouer, that as thynges vnstable thret fall yng, so lykewise it chaunceth to yong damels, whiche thynketh all their tyme lost, and superfluous vnto the daie of their marriage. Homer saith. it was the custome of ladies of Grece, to counte the yeres of their lyfe, not fro the tyme of their birth, but fro the tyme of their maryage. As if one demanded of a Grecian hir age, she would



# MARCVS

would answer. xx. peres, if it were. xx. peres sith she was married, though it were. lx. peres sith she was borne. Affirming after they had a house to gouerne and to commaund, that day she beginneth to liue. The melon after it is ripe, and abideth still in the gardeyne, can not escape, but eyther rotteth, or els must be gathered. I saie the mayden that tarrieth long tyll she be maried, can not escape; either to be taken or infamed. I will saie no more. As soone as the grapes be ripe, it behoueth that they be gathered: so it is necessarie, that the woman that is come to perfyte age, be married and kept. And the father, that doth this, casteth pervil out of his house, and byngeth hym selfe out of thought, and contenteth well his doughter.

**O**f a sickenesse whercof the Emperour died, of his age, and where he dyed. Cap. xxxix.

**M**arcus the Emperour being olde, not onely by age, but by trauaile and great peines that he had taken and suffred in warres, In the. xviii. yere of his empyre, and. lxii. yere of his age,

# AVRELIVS.

age, and of the foundation of Rome. *bi. c.*  
 and. *xl.* as he was in Danonie now cal-  
 led Hungarie with his hoste, and Com-  
 mode his sonne, at a citee called Glende-  
 bone, situate vpon a ryuer, that had. *liii.*  
*M.* fyre houses, and beeyng in wynter,  
 and the waters great, and ueraie weie  
 weather, he beeyng in the fieldes aboute  
 the. *xxx.* date of December: sodainlie  
 vpon a night, as he went with lanter-  
 nes aboute his campe, there toke him a  
 sickenes or palseie in one of his armes,  
 so that he coulde not welde his speare,  
 nor yet drawe his swearde, nor put on  
 his owne clothes. Than this good Em-  
 perour charged with yeres, and with  
 no lesse thoughtes, and wynter increa-  
 syng with many great snowes, and fre-  
 syng of the earth, there fell on him an o-  
 ther maladie called Litarge, the whiche  
 put the Barbariens in great hardinesse,  
 and his host in great heynesse, his per-  
 son in perill, and his friendes in great  
 suspect of his health. There was done to  
 him al therperience that coulde be found  
 by medicines, as vnto great princes and  
 lordes is accustomed. And all did him  
 no profyte: by reason the meladie was  
 greuous, and the imperour charged with  
 yeres

# M A R C V S

peres, and the ayze of the land was contrary to hym, and the tyme helped him nothing: and also he was not well intended. And as men of worshyp doe set more by theyr honour than by their lyues, and had rather dye with honour, than lyue dishonored, to assure their honour, thei aduenture euery houre their liues, and had leauer haue one houre of honour, than a.C. yeres of lyfe: So thus this sicke emperour, caused him selfe to be bozne all about his campe, and went to see the scarmisshes, and woulde slepe in the fieldes: the whiche was not without great peryll of his lyfe, nor without great trauayle of his person. Thus on a daie the Emperour, beyng in a great fever and letten bloud, heard a great clamour or noyse in the fielde: made by his men that had brought home great quantitee of forage, and their enemies set on theim, to rescue it: there was medlyng on both parties, the one to beare awaye and the other to defend: The Romans for hunger, did what thei could, to beare it awaye, And the Hungariens, from whence it came, made resistance: They medled so one with a nother, and their debate was so cruell, that there was slaying

AVRELIVS.

Clayne five capitaynes of the Romayns,  
the worst of them was more woorth,  
than al the forage that thei had wonne.  
And of the Hungariens were so many  
Clayne, that all the forage that they had  
losse, was not so muche woorth. Cer-  
teinly considering the crueltie that was  
there done, the profite that came there-  
by, was very small to the Romayns, so  
that there went but a fewe away with  
the forage, and of the Hungariens few-  
er, was left to make resistance. Them-  
perour seying the yll order, and that by  
the reason of his bloud lettynge and fe-  
uer, he was not present at that acte, he  
toke such a heuinesse at his hert, wher-  
by he fell into suche a traunce, that it  
was thought he had ben deade: and so  
he laye three nyghtes and two dayes,  
that he could se no lyght of the skie, nor  
speake to any person. The heate of his  
sickenesse was greate, and his peines  
greater, he dranke muche and eatz ly-  
tell, he coulde not slepe, his face was  
yealow, and his mouth blacke.  
Somtime he lifted vp his eyes, and of-  
tentymes toygned his handes toge-  
ther: He spake nothyng, and sighed ma-  
ny times. His throte was so drie, that  
he

# MARCVS

he could not spitte: his eyes were very  
soze with sobbyng and weepynge. It  
was great compassion to see his death,  
and a greate plague of his confusion to  
his house, and also the very greate losse  
of his warre. There durst no man looke  
vpon him, and fewere speake to hym.  
Panutius his Secretarie, sorowynge at  
his herte, to see his maister so nere his  
death, on a night in the pzenence of di-  
uers other that wer there, he saied to  
hym.

**¶** The woordes of Panutius Secreta-  
rie to Emperour at the houre of  
his death. Cap. xl.



**M**arcus my lord, ther is  
no tongue that can be stil  
nor any heart suffre, nor  
eyes dissimule: nor witte  
that can permitte it. My  
bloud congeleth, and my  
synewes drie, the stoanes openeth, and  
my soule woulde passe soorth: the  
iointes vntoigne a sonder, and my spi-  
rites are troubled, because you take not  
the wise and sage counsell, the whiche  
ye gaue to other that were symple.

A V R E L I V S .

I see you my lord die, and I ought for  
to be soze displeased therewith. The so-  
row that I feele at my herte is, howe  
you haue lyued lyke a wise person, and  
at this houre ye do like a simple man.

Tenne yere a knight geueth meate to  
his horse, to thentent that he shuld kepe  
him from perill, and all that the wyse  
man studieth for a longe season, ought  
to be to passe his life with honour, and  
to take his death with great vertue.

Wright dere lord, I demaunde of you,  
what profite is it to the Mariner to  
know the carde of the sea, and after to  
perish in a tourment or tempest? What  
profit is it to a capitaine, to speke much  
of warre, and after know not howe to  
giue battayle? What profiteth it to a  
knight to haue a good horse, and to fall  
in the streete? What profiteth it one to  
teache an other the playne way, and  
hym selfe to wander a syde? I saie,  
what profited it the force of your lyfe  
that you esteemed so littell, many times  
seekynge your death? And at this pre-  
sente howe, that you haue founde  
deth, you weepe, because it wyll take  
away your life? What thynges haue  
I wryten with mine owne hand, being  
your

your Secretary deuised by your highe  
 and profounde vnderstandynge, tou-  
 chynge the stroke of death: What thing  
 was it to see the letter, that you sent  
 Claudine vpon the death of hir house-  
 band: What wrote you to Anthigone,  
 whan your sonne Gerissimus dyed:  
 Wherein your vertue dyd consolete  
 his heuynesse. What hygh thynges did  
 I write in the booke that you sent to the  
 Senate, in the pere of the greate pesty-  
 lence: comfortynge them after the great  
 mortalitee passed: therein you didde  
 shew them, how littell men should set  
 by death, and what profite foloweth  
 therby. And I haue sene and harde you  
 blason death in your lyfe, and now you  
 wepe, as though you should lyue here  
 vyll. Sith that the goddes commaunde  
 it, and your age requirith it, and your  
 sickenesse is the cause, & nature permit-  
 teth it, and fortune consenteth to it, and  
 is the fatall destenie of vs all, than you  
 must nedes die. The trauailes that come  
 of necessitee, ought with a good courage  
 to be abiden. For the couragious fee-  
 leth not so sore the harde strokes, as the  
 weake that falleth, or he be foughten  
 with. you ar but one mā, & not two: and

ye oughte to haue one death and not  
 two. Therfore why wold ye for one lyfe  
 haue two deathes, enterring the body,  
 and slepyng the spryde wyth sighes ?  
 After so many perylls of longe lyfe to  
 take a sure porte, will ye lyfte vp the  
 sayles, and entre againe into the swa-  
 laue of the sea, for to engloutte you ?  
 In the sea you haue chaled the bulle,  
 and scaped his woodnesse, and now ye  
 refuse to entre into the parke, where  
 you maie surely slea him, you make as-  
 saute with victorie of your life, and will  
 dye attempnyng the deathe. You haue  
 fought. lxii. yeres in the campe of mise-  
 ry, and now you fear to entre into your  
 sepulchre: you haue got out of the bus-  
 shes and thornes, wherin you were clo-  
 sed: and now at this howse you stum-  
 ble in the sayre waie: you haue had in  
 certain the damage of your deth: & now  
 ye putte in doubte the prosyde of your  
 death: you are entred into the campe  
 of desyng of the worlde: and now you  
 wold tourn your backe, whan it is time  
 to put your handes to armes. lxii. yeres  
 you haue fought agaynst fortune: and  
 now you close your eyes, because for-  
 tune wil strike you. I say it, because that  
 wyl



M A R C V S.

Willingly you refuse this present death,  
the which will cause vs to haue your  
lyfe passed suspecte. What do you, high  
and mighty pryncce: why wepe you like  
a childe: and why sigh you, as one in  
dispayre: If you wepe because ye shall  
die, why dyd you laugh so much in your  
lyfe tyme: For of muche laughyng in  
the lyfe tyme, cometh much weppng at  
the death, will you doe that you can not  
doe, and not be content with that you  
may do. The ground and pasture, that  
is common, you wolde ioyne to your  
owne, the renoume of the comon welth  
you applied to your owne herytage. Of  
a subsidy or lone, you wolde make your  
perpetuall right. I will shewe you  
who be dead. All be dead and shall dye.  
And among all other you wolde all ones  
lye lyue, will ye haue that of the god-  
des, that they be goddes for: That is,  
because you are mortall, that they make  
you immortall. And you to haue that  
by prouilege, which thei haue by nature.  
I that am but symple, demaunde one  
thyng of you my lord, that are auncient  
and wisic, whiche is the greatest or least  
welth, to dye well or lyue yll: To lyue  
well no man can attayne certainly, for  
hunger

# AVRELIVS.

hunger, thirst, solitarines, persecucion,  
 yll fortune, sickenneses, and disfauours.  
 This can be called no lyfe, but rather a  
 deathe. If an auncient manne would  
 make a shewe and bokke of his lyfe, from  
 the tyme of his byrthe, to the laipnge in  
 his graue, and the bodye to shewe all  
 that it hath suffred by dolours, and the  
 hearte to discouer all the strokes of for-  
 tune: I thinke, that the goddes would  
 haue meruaile therof, and men would  
 be abashed therof, that the body coulde  
 suffice so much, and the hert beare it. I  
 holde the Grekes wyldest, whiche weep  
 whan their children are borne, and they  
 syng, whan an olde man dieth: but the  
 Romaines syng at the byrthe of their  
 children, and wepe whan they die olde.  
 Certaynely to laughe at the deathe of  
 theim, that die olde, sith they dy to  
 laughe: and to wepe at the byrth of chil-  
 dren, sith they are borne to wepe, & that  
 the lyfe abydeeth the sentence of yll, pro-  
 ueth well, that the death is good. Will  
 you, that I saie one veryttee to you: I  
 haue alwaies seene, that counsell in  
 the wisest manne, soonest faileth hym.  
 Suche as would gouerne all thynges,  
 by their opinions, of necessitee in some,

M A R C V S

or in the most parte, they doode erre and  
faile. O Marc my dere lorde, wene you  
that haue caused to barie so many, that  
some should not burie you in lyke wise?  
And as you haue seene the ende of their  
daies, so other shall see the ende of your  
yeres. Therfore me semeth, it were bet-  
ter for you to die, and to go your way,  
to atteigne to suche wealthe, than to  
escape, and lyue in muche myserye. If  
you feele deathe, I haue no meruaile,  
sith you be a manne. But I meruaile,  
that you do not dissimule it, sith you  
are discrete. They that haue cleere vn-  
derstandyng, fele many thinges at their  
heart, that putteth them to peine, why-  
che they shewe not outwarde, for the  
presumption of honour. If all the pop-  
son, that is in a heauy hert, were spred  
abrode in the weake fleshe by smal grei-  
ues, no walles shoulde suffyce vs to  
rubbe, nor our nayles to scratche. For  
certainly the death is but a playe, where  
in the plaier, if he be apte, aduentureth  
but littell, to wyane muche: and they  
that plaie, maie see well, that this is a  
woylie plaie, and not a stronge. And that  
also, as well they leese, that haue but a  
small carde, not fearyng death, as they  
that

AVRELIVS.

that with a great carde, lone longe lyfe.  
 What thyng is death, but a trap dooze,  
 wherin the tent is closed, in the whiche  
 is sold al the miseries of our lyfe: This  
 the gods do change vs, fro an olde filthy  
 houle into a new. And what other thing  
 is the sepulchre, but a castel, wherin we  
 be closed against thassautes of the lyfe.  
 Of trouth you ought moze to couete, to  
 take that you find at your deth than the  
 hurt of that you shall leaue in your lyfe.  
 I demaund of you, what it is that doth  
 you most peine, in lesyng of the life: If  
 you peine your selfe, for Helie Sabrice  
 your wyfe, because you leue hir yong,  
 wepy not your life, for she is well thou-  
 ght on in wome, for any perill of your  
 life. And as soone as she knoweth it, I  
 am in certe in she will not weepe much,  
 though you go your way. Than you ou-  
 ght not to wepe for leuig hir. These yōg  
 damfels, married to olde men, haue euer  
 their eies fixed in the deth of their husbā-  
 des. And wholi fasten their hert on him  
 that thei thinke to marry with agayne.  
 Thei wepe with their eies, & laughe in  
 their heartes. And thinke not contrary,  
 though she be an emperesse, and can not  
 find an other emperoz to be hir husband

# M A R C V S

yet she wil finde some other man. For if  
 thei be so determined, they wil chaunge  
 their robes of silke, for a gounne of cloth.  
 I dare wel say, they more desyre a yong  
 shepard than an olde Emperour. If you  
 care for your children, whom yee muste  
 leaue behynde you: I can not tell, why  
 you should doo so. For if your death be  
 displeasent to theym, much more displea-  
 seth them, that you lyue so longe. It is  
 great peine to the childe, not to desire  
 the death of his father: For if he be poore  
 it is for feare, how they should be main-  
 teigned, if he be riche, then because he  
 shall be his heire. They syng, and you  
 weepe, you feare the death, & wepe, be-  
 cause you leaue your lyfe. Doo you not  
 know, that after the night cometh the  
 dewie moornyng: and after that cometh  
 the bryght sun: and after the sun cometh  
 a darke cloude, and after again cometh  
 fayre weather, and after that cometh  
 lightnyng and thunder: and than again  
 clere ayre? Also I say, that after infācy  
 cometh childehode, than cometh youthe,  
 and age after that, and so at laste com-  
 meth deathe, and after death fearefull  
 hope of a sure life. Sir, beleue me in one  
 thyng. The beginnyng, the meane, and  
 the

# AVRELIVS.

the ende euery man hath. Certaynely if  
 you had been taken as the floure fro the  
 herbe, if you had ben cut greene fro the  
 tree, if you had ben grafted in prime-  
 time: if you had ben eaten in the lowe-  
 nesse of the vyne: I meane, if in the first  
 youth, whan life was at the swetest, if  
 death had come & knocked at the gate,  
 yo should haue had cause to be sozie: but  
 as now the walles ar weake, and redy  
 to fall, and the floure withered, and the  
 beary putrified, the speare full of mosse  
 and can not draue the knife out of the  
 sheathe. Here in you haue desired the  
 world, as if you had neuer knowen the  
 worlde. Ixii. yere you haue ben prisoner  
 in the doungeon of the bodie: and now  
 whan the shakles or giues should be ta-  
 ken from you, you complayn: you lordes  
 would make new of other newes. He  
 that thinketh it not sufficiente to liue  
 Ixii. yeres in this death, or to die in this  
 life, he will not be content with. lx. 89.  
 ¶ Auguste the Emperour sayd, that af-  
 ter that men had liued. l. yeaues, they  
 ought to die, or els cause them selfe to be  
 slain, bicause that vnto that tyme, is the  
 felicitie of man. He that liueth beyonde  
 that time, passeth his time in heauines.

# MARCVS

in greuous aches, death of his chldzen;  
 and losse of his goods, in importunities  
 of his chldzen in lawe, buryng of his  
 frendes, susteynyng processe, payng of  
 dettes, and other infinite trauailes: So  
 that it were better with his eyes closed  
 to abide theim in his grane, than with  
 his eyes open, to abide theim in his life  
 daies. Certainly it is a fortune of al for-  
 tunes, and he is right praiue with the  
 goddes, that at fiftie yeres, leaueth his  
 life. For all the tyme that he liueth af-  
 ter, is in decayng and neuer vpriht,  
 but rollng, relyng, and redy to fall. O  
 Marke my dere lord, do you not know,  
 that by the same waye that lyfe goeth,  
 commeth death: It is. lxiij. yere that ye  
 haue sought the one from the other. And  
 whan ye went fro Rome, wher as you  
 left your house, ye wente to Illirike,  
 where you left a great pestilence: & now  
 you are retourned into Hungarie. Doe  
 you not know, that as sone as you wer  
 borne, to gouerne the earth, incontinent  
 death issued out of his sepulchre, to find  
 your life: And if you haue honored am-  
 balladours of the strange kynges, much  
 moze ye ought to honour death that co-  
 meth fro the goddes. What lordshippe  
 can

AVRELIVS.

can be lost in this life, but you shal fynd  
greater in the deth. Are you not remem-  
bered, whan Vulcan my sonne in lawe  
poisoned me, because he desired my good  
des more then my life, how you, my lord  
for loue that you had to me, gaue me co-  
forte and counsell, for the death of my  
sorrowful youth: and you said to me, the  
goddess were cruell, in kyllyng of theim  
that be young, and pitifull, whan they  
burie theim that be olde. And also you  
said to me. Comfort thy selfe Panutius:  
For if thou didst liue to die, nowe than  
thou dyest to liue. Therfore right high  
and mightie prince, I say to you, as you  
said to me: And I counsell you, as you  
counsailed me, and that you gaue me, I  
geue you agayne. Finallie, of this rea-  
ping, take the best in woorth, and let the  
rest abide.

Howe the Emperour demaunded to haue  
in wytyng, all that the Secretarie  
had saide Cap. xli.

**A**ND as of the conteynnyng of the  
wil, oftentymes procedeth helth  
and ease of the bodie, thempere  
was well satisfied with the wordes of  
S iiii 194



# MARCVS

**D**anatus, whiche he eloquently bittered, and with profound counsell, hardily and familiarly, and in due time, as a good freend. Great compassion it is, to them that would dy, whan it is shewed them what they ought to doe. For of the that be about the bed, some robbe hym of his money, some serue him well, some hold the place to be his heire, some gape for gyftes, some wepe for losyng of him, some laugh for the gaines they haue by his death, and so in this maner the poore patient, haupng many, lokyng for their profite, hath no bodie to counsell hym.

We se daily, that seruantes, whan they see the goyng out of the candell of lyfe, care not for the clensyng of theyr lordes bytes, And thereof commeth, that as soon as he is dead, streight waie beginneth to stynke. And so I saie, that the ende of his lyfe, is the begynnynge of his infamie. All thei that were there, as well the olde seruantes as the new, belonging to the Emperour, capitains of warre, and other, were not a littell abashed of the sayng of Danutus, and they all allowed his sayng, and saied, he was worthy to haue the gouernance of the empyre. The good Emperour, all the

# AVRELIVS.

the season that Panutius spake, wepte  
with deepe sighes fro his hert. And be-  
cause he was so soze greued, he coulde  
not sooꝝthwith geue him an answeꝛe :  
At the laste he commaunded Panutius  
to geue him in wꝛytpng, all that he had  
saied, to the intent that he might studie  
theron. For he said, it was no reason to  
forget thinges so well saied. So all the  
rest of that night, the Secreatarie occupi-  
ed hym selfe, to put in wꝛytpng the same  
sayng: and the next daie he deliuered it  
to the Emperour, which toke it, and lo-  
ked thereon all the daie: and kept it styll  
in his handes, and often tymes redde  
theron. And the nexte night the Emperour  
sent for the Secreatarie, and in open au-  
dience he saide, as foloweth.

**T**he aunswere of the Emperour to  
Panutius. Cap. xlii.

**H**Appie was the mylke, that thou  
suckedst in Dacie, and the breade  
that thou didst eate at Rome, and  
the learnyng, that thou hadst in Athe-  
nes, and thy bynggyng up in my house.  
For in my lyfe, thou hast wel serued me,  
and at my death, thou hast well coun-  
sailed me. I commaunde Commodus  
my

# MARCVS

my sonne, to rewarde the for thy good  
 seruice. And I praye the goddes, to re-  
 compence the for thy counsell. The re-  
 warde for diuers seruices a man maie  
 make: but the rewarde for the coun-  
 cell, all the goddes haue nede to do. The  
 greattest reward, that one freende may  
 do to an other, is in a great and weigh-  
 tie matter, to succour hym with good  
 counsel. Al the trauayles of the worlde  
 are weighty, but the trauaile of death is  
 the weightiest: all be peryllous, but that  
 is most peryllous: all bene great, but  
 this is the greattest: all thynges haue  
 an end at last by death, saue onely deth,  
 whose ende is vnknowe: he that is hurt  
 with death, is as he, that is sicke of the  
 sleeppng cupll, hauing a quicke vnder-  
 standyng, and yet he knoweth no man:  
 and many thynges beyng offred to him,  
 he can determine vpon none, yet againe  
 I saie, he is a true and faithfull freende,  
 that in suche time, will geue good coun-  
 sel to his freend. All they that here this  
 that I saie, will saie, that it is true.  
 But I sweare, that no man can know  
 it perfetely but he that is in case, that I  
 am in, redie to dye. Ixiij. yere hath bene  
 the cours of my life, and now deth com-  
 maine

AVRELIVS.

maundeth me, to close mine eyes, and to  
 folowe the course of death. Moreover,  
 as thou knowest not the infirmittie, so  
 thou approachest not to the cure & helthe.  
 The dolour is not there, as thou hast  
 made defensives, it is not the fistula,  
 where against thou hast given cauters,  
 it is not againste opilacions, that thou  
 hast ginen syzoppes, it is not in the ve-  
 nes, that thou hast given me incision:  
 Thou hast not well healed the wounde,  
 that thou hast stitched me. I saie, that  
 thou must enter further in me, to know  
 perfittely myne accesse. The sighes that  
 procede from the bottom of my hert can  
 not be vnderstanden with hearynge of  
 theym: the goddes alonely knowe the  
 thoughtes of the hert. Also diuers thyn-  
 ges are in me, that I know not of my  
 selfe, no more than that is without me.  
 Panatius, thou accusest me, that I  
 feare deathe. To feare it greatly, I  
 denie it: but I confesse to feare it as a  
 manne. Of trouth, if I should saie,  
 that I feare not death, I muste denie  
 that I am not made of fleshe. We see,  
 that the Oliphante feareth the Lyon,  
 and the Beare feareth the Oliphante,  
 and the Wolfe feareth the Beare, and  
 the

# MARCVS

the shepe feareth the wolfe, and the rat  
the catte, and the catte the dogge, and  
the dogge the man, and all onely their  
feare is, that they dzeede to be slayne.  
Than if these brute beastes refuse deth,  
not fearynge the sightynge with furi-  
ouse spirites, noz the enioynge with  
the goddes: How muche rather ought  
we to feare the death? For we are in  
feare to be torne in pieces with the fu-  
ries in their peines, or to be receiued in  
pleisure with the goddes. Therfore I  
say, that the naturall feare of death, I  
haue overcome with the bzidell and li-  
berties of reason. Thynkest thou Panu-  
tius, that I see not my grasse wasted,  
and my grapes gathered, that mi house  
breaketh, and that I haue nothynge  
leste, but the stocke of the grapes, the  
skinne of the fleshe, and but one onely  
blaste of all my life? Thou seest well,  
that by the tokens, the exercise is seene.  
And nettes be cast in the riuers, and in  
the parkes bulles ben chaled. I say that  
the rumour of death holdeth in sauetie  
the life that is in me, at this houre redy  
armed agaynst death. I make battayle  
with death, at this houre barayne and  
naked of life: and so redie to enter into  
the

the sepulchre, at this houre I shall enter  
 into the campe, where as I shall not  
 be gozed with bulles, but shal be eaten  
 with wormes: and finally, I shall goe  
 fro whens I can not flee. Thus I hope  
 abiding death. And this I say, because  
 thou shalt know, that I knowe it, and  
 that thou shalt fele, that I fele. And to  
 the intent thou liue vnbeguiled, I will  
 tell thee a secrete. The nouelties that  
 thou haſte ſcene in me, as in abhorryng  
 of meate, bireuyng of ſlepe, liuing alone  
 werines of cōpany, drowning in ſighes  
 and paſtime in weepynge. Thou mayeſt  
 well thynke, what tourment ought to  
 be in the ſea of my hert, whē ſuch trem-  
 blynges and motions of earth and rays-  
 nes are ſet in the erth of my body. Shal  
 I ſhew the, wherfore my body is in this  
 thought, and my hert in ſuche trouble?  
 The cauſe why I ſuffre death ſo gro-  
 nouſly, is that I leaue my ſonne Com-  
 mode in this lyfe, in a perillous age ſor  
 hym, and ſuſpicious ſor the empire. By  
 the floures the fruites are knowne, and  
 the vines in burchenyng, by the colt the  
 horſe is knowne, whether he ſhall bee  
 meke or ſtubborn ſor labour or cartage:  
 and in the yowth, the yong man is kno-  
 wen

M A R C V S.

Men: and by the littell that I see in my  
 life by my sonne Comode, I feare me  
 it wyl be lesse after my death. Thou  
 knowest not why I say thus. And I  
 saie it not without cause: for my sonne  
 Commode is very yong, and yet younge  
 in witte. He is of an yll inclinaci  
 on, but he be forced: he gouerneth hym  
 selfe by his owne witte and vnderstan  
 dyng, as though he were a man of ex  
 perience: he knoweth but littel, and ca  
 reth for nothyng. Of the tyme passed  
 he hath no knowlage: all onely he oc  
 cupieth him selfe with the tyme present.  
 Finally, by that I see with myne eyes,  
 and thinke in my herte, I feare me the  
 person of my sonne shal be in perill, and  
 the memorie of his fathers house pe  
 rishe. Faustine his mother hath so  
 flattered him so delicately: and by a harde  
 stony ground he hath a great way to go  
 He entreth as now alone into the path  
 of youth without any guide. I feare  
 me he shall goe out of the right waye,  
 and wander in the bushes and thornes  
 of vices. O Panutius, hearken what  
 I saie, I saie it not withoute teares,  
 thou seest that my son remaineth riche,  
 young, and at libertie. Richesse, youthe  
 solitas

solitarie, and libertie bene. Thus pestilences, that enpoysone the pryncce, and waste the common wealth: it sleaeth them that be aliue, and infameth them that be dead. Beleue me one thyng, diuers graces are requisite to susceyne diuers vertues. With the fairest women the brothell howses are peopled, the moste villaynes are made ruffians: the most hardie are robbers in woodes: the quickest of vnderstanding oft proue fooles: and the most subtil become theues, I saie, that suche as are cloathed with diuers graces of nature, lacke the fures of acquired vertues.

¶ We maie saie, thei hold in their handes a knyfe, wherewith they strike and hurt them selues: fire on their shulders, wherewith they bren: and a corde about theyr necke, wherewith they hange: daggers at theyr stomacke, wherewith they are slayne: thornes at theyr feete, wherewith they are pricked: a stonie waie as for their eyes, where they stumbe, and stombling fall, and falling thei lese their lyfe, and win death. The great trees, of who we haue fruite in winter, and shadow in sommer, first be planted & rotes fast in the entrailes of the earth, or  
 euer



# M A R C V S.

enter their wauering boughes are aduentured in the wynde. Marke Panutius marke well. The manne that from his youth hath set before hym the feare of the goddes, and the shame of menne, is habtyed in vertues, and he that accompanieth with theim that be vertuous, mainteineth trowth to euery man, and lyueth without pzeiudyce of any man. Malycious fortune make somtyme cleue the barke of the wealth of such a tree, wyther the flower in his youth, breake the leaues of his fauoure, gather the fruite of his trauayle, breake downe a bough of his offices, and bove downe the height of his counsell: yet for all the strokes that the wynde can strike, it can not be plucked vp by the rote. Certeinly the sonne that the father hath endued with graces, and the son applyng him in vices, oughte not to be bozne in this worlde: and if he be bozne, to be buried quicke. For the father sweate by daye, and wathe by night, to leaue honoure to their childe, whiche the fathers bye of the goddes with sighes, and the mothers deliuered of them with payne, and byng theim by with trauaile: and the childe pzoneth so, that he geneth gra-  
 uous

# AVRELIVS.

trous age to the father in his lyfe, and  
great infamy after his death. I consi-  
der well, that the prince Comode, being  
younge and folde, agaynst his will, for-  
beare vices, and I feare me, that after  
my death, he will hate vertues. I re-  
membze diuerse of his age, haue inheri-  
ted the empyre, whiche were so hardy in  
their lyues, that they deserued to be cal-  
led tyrantes after their deathes. Exam-  
ple of Denis renoumed tyrant of Sicily,  
whiche hyzed theim that coulde inuente  
vices, as our Rome rewardeth theym  
that conquere realmes. What greater  
tyranny can be in a tyrant, thā to make  
most pryncyp to him, thē that be vicious:  
Also I forget not the foure kynges, that  
succeeded after great Alexander as Is-  
thome, Antiochus, Siluius, and Antigo-  
nus, Whiche the Grekes called great  
tyrantes: All that Alexander had got-  
ten wth renoumed triumphes, thei lost  
by their viciousnes. And in this maner  
the worlde that Alexander had deuyded  
among theim. iiii. came to the handes  
of me then foure hundred. For antigo-  
nus sette so little by that had coste his  
lorde Alexander so muche, and was so  
lyght in his aege, and so bolde in his  
realme

# M A R C V S

realme, that in mockerie in the stede of  
a trowne of golde, he ware a garlande  
of puite: and in stede of a scepter, he bare  
a chysell in his right hande: and after  
that maner, he would sitte amonge his  
men, and whan he spake to straungers,  
I late shame to the yong man so to doe,  
but I meruayle that the sadde and wise  
men of Brece suffered it.

¶ I remember also Caligula, the fourth  
Emperour of Rome, a yong man, in  
whose time it was harde to know, whi-  
che was the greater, either the disobe-  
dience of the people to their lord, or the  
hatered, that the lord bare to the peo-  
ple. And this yong prince went so farr  
out of the waie in his youth, and was  
so farre wide from reason in his tyran-  
nies, that euery man studied, howe to  
take his lyfe from hym: and he studied  
to slea euery man. He wrote these wo-  
rdes in a table of golde: Woulde to God  
that all Rome had but one head, to the  
entente that with one stroke, I mighte  
strike it of.

¶ I also remembre Tiberie, sonne ad-  
optiue of good Auguste, called August,  
because he augmented Rome. But this  
good olde prince did not so muche aug-  
ment

# AVRELIVS.

ment it in his life, but this pong successour destroyed it muche more after his death. The hate that the Romaine people had against Tiberie in his life, was right well shewed after his death. For the same day that he died, or whan he was slayne, the people made dyuers processions, and the Senatours offered greate gistes in the Temples, and the priestes offered great sacrifices to theyr goddess, to the intent that they shoulde not receiue the soule of the sayde Tiberie into their glozy, but to send it to furries of hell.

¶ Also Amynde Patrocle, the seconde kyng of Corinth, whiche inherited the realme, beyng but .xvi. yere of age, and he was so vicious of his body, and so libberall of his mouthe, that where as his father helde the realme. lx. yers, he possessed it but .xxx. daies.

¶ Also the ancient Tarquin the proude the seuenth kyng of Rome, whiche was right goodly in gesture, right valiaunt in armes, and of a cleane bloudde, as an unhappie prince, defiled all his vertues with naughtie luyunge, in suche wise, that he conuerted his beautie into lecherie, his power into tyzannie, for

M A R C V S

the villany that he did to Lucrece, the chaste lady of Rome, whereby he losse not onely his realme, but the name of Tarquine was banished for ever oute of Rome.

**T** I remembre cruell Nero, which inherited, and died yonge: and in him ended the memory of the noble Cesars: and by him was renewed the memory of Antigones the tyrantes. Whom thinkest thou this tiraunt woulde suffre to liue, whiche slew his owne mother? Tell me I pray thee, what herte is that of a childe, to slea his owne mother, to open the brestes that he sucked, to shed the bloud of hir, that nourished hym in hir armes, and to beholde the entrailles, wherein he was fourmed? What thyngkest thou, that he would not haue dooen, sythe he committed suche an yll deede? The day that Nero slew his mother, an oratour sayd in the senate, that Agrippine his mother had deserued death, for chyldyng suche a childe in Rome. These three daies, that thou hast sene me so altred in my mynde, all these thynges came befoze me: and I haue drawen them into the depeneste of my herte, and disputed theim. This  
sonne

AVRELIVS:

sonne of mine holdeth me in the goulfe  
of the sea, betwene the waues of feare,  
and the ankers of dispaire, hoping, that  
he should be good, because I haue nour-  
rished him well, and fearynge that he  
should be yll, because his mother Jan-  
tine hath brought him by wantonlye,  
and the yonge man is inclined to yll.

And as ye see a thyng made by artifi-  
ce peryshe, and a naturall thyng last:  
I am in greate feare, that after my  
death, he wyll tourne that way, that  
his mother hath childeed him, and not  
as I haue nourished him. O how hap-  
pie were I, if I had neuer a childe to  
leauē behinde me to be Emperour: then  
a childe might be chosen amonge chyl-  
dren of good fathers, and I should not  
haue bene troubled with him, that the  
goddess haue giuen me. Panutius, I  
demaunde one thyng of thee, whether  
thou callest moſte fortunate, Vaspas-  
ian, the naturall father of Domitian,  
or elles Nerua, the father adoptiue of  
Traiane? Vaspasian was good, and  
Nerua very good, and Domitian was  
of all other moſte cruell, and Traiane  
the myrrour of all clemencie. Than re-  
gard howe Vaspasian in the fortune to

# MARCVS

haue children was unhappie, and Per-  
ua in the misfortune to haue children  
was happie. I know not why thes fa-  
thers desire to haue children, sith they  
been the occasion of so muche trauayle.  
¶ Panutius, I wyll say one thyng to  
the, as a frende to a frende (as thou kno-  
west well we be in this worlde) I haue  
lived. lxiiij. yeres, in which time I haue  
redde many thynges, and haue hearde,  
seen, desired, atteined, possessed, suffred,  
and rested muche, and now at this time  
I muste die: and of all thyng I shall  
beare nothyng a way, because bothe I  
and it are nothyng. Great businesse the  
hearte hath to serche for these goodes,  
and great trauaile to come to them, but  
withoute comparison the greatest do-  
lour is at the houre of the death, to de-  
parte and leue them. What greater dis-  
ease can be to the bodie, than sodainly  
to be surprisid with enemies: What per-  
rill of the sea, or losse of frendes, can be  
egal, to see a vertuous man draw to his  
death, to leaue the sweatte of his face,  
the auctoritee of the Emperre, the ho-  
nour of his person, the compaignie of  
his frendes, the remedy of his dettours,  
the rewardyng of his seruauntes, and  
to

# AVRELIVS.

to leaue it to a childe, that hath not merited it, nor hath not the power to wylt to merite it.

**I**n the ninth table of the lawes were these wordes wrytten: We commaund & ordein, that euerye father, who in the opinion of all men is good, shal disherite his sonne, that is yll in euery mans opinion. Also euery chylde, what so euer he be, that disobeyeth his father, or robbeth any temple, or hurte any wydow, so that she bleede, flee fro the battayle, or do any treason to a straunger, who so euer is founde in anye of these five cases, let hym be banyshted for euer the habitacion of Rome, and caste out fro the heritage of his father.

**I**n good soothe this lawe was good, and in the tyme of Quintus Cincinate, it was ordeigned: and now by vs, whiche bee unhappie, it is cleane leaste and forgotten. Panutius, without doubte I am weery to speake, and also I haue suche an impediment in my stomacke, that I wante breath: or elles I coulde shewe thee all by order, if mine vnderstandyng failed me not, how many Parthiens, Mediens, Assiriens, Caldiens, Indiens, Egyptians, Hebues,



# MARCVS

Greekes, and Romaines, haue left their  
 children poore, and mighte haue left  
 them riche: and all was because they  
 were vicious: and other children that  
 were verie poore, were leste ryche, be-  
 cause they were good and vertuous. I  
 sweare to the by the immortall goddes,  
 that whan I came fro the warres be-  
 twene the Parthiens and Rome, and  
 that the triumph and glorie was geuen  
 to me, and my sonne confyrmed to bee  
 Emperour: I woulde the Senate had  
 leste me my sonne Commodus poore,  
 with al his vices, and that I had made  
 the Senate heyre and lord to the em-  
 pyre: and to haue chastised him to the  
 example of all the worlde. I will that  
 thou knowe, I shall carie fyue thynges  
 with me out of this worlde entermed-  
 led, the whiche is greate sorowe to my  
 heart. The first is, that I haue not de-  
 termined and iudged the plee and pro-  
 cesse of the noble wydowe Drusia, with  
 the Senate, seeynge that she is verie  
 poore, and hath no bodie to doe hir iu-  
 stice: The seconde is, because I doe not  
 die in Rome, to the intent that I might  
 cause to be cried and proclaimed euerie  
 where in Rome, ere I dyed, to witte if  
 any

AVRELIVS.

any complayned on me: The thirde is, that where as I did slea fourteen tirantes, that vndyd the countrey, that I had not as well banished all the Pyrates that kept the seas: The fourth is, that I leste my dere sonne Verissimus dead: And the fifth, that I haue leste alpye, as heyre to the Emppre, my sonne Commodus. O Panutius, the greatteste happe, that the goddes can geue to a man (not couetouse but vertuose) is to geue him renoume in his life, and a good heire to conserue him after his death. Finally to conclude, I pray to the goddes, if I shall haue anie parte with theim, that if by my sonnes offences, Rome be sclaundered, and my renoume minished, and my house losse by his life, that they will take a waie his life yet er I dye.

¶ What the Emperour saied to the maisters of his sonne, and to the rulers of the Emppre. Cap. xliii.

I See you auncient fathers and noble Romaines, and right faithfull seruantes take payne and sorowe, for that I muste yelde me to deathe, and  
leave

# MARCVS

leane this lyfe, and treat with my Sepulchre. Ye sorow for my sorow, ye are  
 tourmented with mine anguifhe, and  
 peyned for my peyne, it is no meruaile.  
 For the clere vnderftanding of the pure  
 blond of true and faitheful freindes, is  
 to double their traiailes, and to weepe  
 for other: if one brute beaft mourne for  
 an other, much more ought one humain  
 creature to sorow for an other. And this  
 I faie, because I know by the teares  
 of your eyes, the feelyng of your hertes.  
 And fith that the greattest rewarde for  
 any benefyte, is to know it, and thanke  
 the partie thereof, as muche as I can, I  
 thanke you. And if my weake thankes  
 be not correfpondente to your pityfull  
 weepynge, I requyre the goddes, after  
 they haue taken a waie my lyfe, to re-  
 warde you for my duetie. It is great  
 pleasure for the familie to know theyr  
 maifter goe with the goddes, and great  
 peine to him to leane theim. For com-  
 painfe of many yeres is lothe to leane  
 the lyfe. In my lyfe tyme I haue done  
 with you as I ought to dooe, and as  
 now I must doe as I maie. The geddes  
 will take my foule away, Comodus my  
 fonne themppye, the sepulchre my body,  
 and

AVRELIVS.

and ye myn soeciall freendes my hearte.

I, that sith ye wer  
 I, that it be yours  
 I that I wil speak  
 ight shall be our  
 hertie freendes ye  
 o the ende of my  
 s beginnyng of  
 the goddes. It  
 haue loued you  
 beleue me now.  
 , that ye can de  
 e: noz I haue no  
 myne eares as  
 atteries, noz my  
 ities, if ye neuer  
 w. I haue ben he  
 hat hath been, in  
 ou, somewhat:  
 tel, and within a  
 nothyng. This  
 e of Marke your  
 ende the lyfe of  
 is daie shal ende  
 Marke your loze,  
 ignozie of Mark  
 his day shal ende  
 nquished many,  
 me with death:  
 A

*I haue a respect to you*

# MARCVS

leane this lyfe, and treate with my Se-  
 pulchre. Ye sorow  
 tourmented with  
 peyned for my pey  
 For the clere brde  
 bloud of true and  
 to double their tra  
 for other: if one by  
 an other, much mi  
 creature to sorow  
 I saie, because I  
 of your eyes, the f  
 And sith that the  
 any benefyte, is in  
 the partie thereof,  
 thanke you. And  
 be not correspond  
 weepynge, I req  
 they haue taken a  
 warde you for my  
 pleasure for the fe  
 maister goe with  
 peine to him to le  
 paigne of many  
 the lyfe. In my  
 with you as I o  
 now I must doe  
 will take my sou  
 soune thempyre,

and ye  
 And so  
 in the  
 after  
 more  
 reason  
 see, th  
 last to  
 my fin  
 is rea  
 in ty  
 For t  
 man  
 thyn  
 now  
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 that  
 tyme  
 now  
 litte  
 daie  
 free  
 Ma  
 the f  
 this  
 you  
 his  
 and

AVRELIVS.

and ye my spectall freendes my hearts.  
 And sothly it is reason, that sith ye wer  
 in the lyfe my heartes, that it be yours  
 after my death. And in that I wil speak  
 more particuler, this night shall be our  
 reasonyng. Now my hertie freendes ye  
 see, that I am come to the ende of my  
 last iourney, and to the beginnyng of  
 my firste iourney with the goddes. It  
 is reason, that sith I haue loued you  
 in tyme paste, that ye beleue me now.  
 For the tyme is come, that ye can de-  
 maunde nothyng of me: nor I haue no-  
 thyng to offer you: nor myne eares as  
 nowe can not here flatteries, nor my  
 heart suffre importunities, if ye neuer  
 knew me, know me now. I haue ben he  
 that I am, and am he that hath been, in  
 tymes past like vnto you, somewhat:  
 now ye see I am but litel, and within a  
 littell while I shall be nothyng. This  
 daie shall ende the life of Marke your  
 freende, this daie shall ende the lyfe of  
 Marke you parent, this daie shall ende  
 the fatal destinies of Marke your lorde,  
 this day shall end the seignorie of Mark  
 your Emperour, and this day shall ende  
 his empyre. I haue banquished many,  
 and nowe I am ouercome with death:

# MARCVS

I am he that hath caused many to die,  
 and I can not as now geue my self one  
 date of life: I am he that hath entered  
 into chariottes of golde, and this daye  
 I shall be laied on a bierre of woodde:  
 I am he, for whom many haue song me  
 rilie, and this day they wepe: I am he  
 that hath had compaignie in all exerci-  
 ses, and this daye I shall be geuen to  
 hungrie wormes: I am Marcus gret-  
 ly renoumed, that with famous triumph  
 mounted into the high capitol, and this  
 day with forgetfulnesse I shall descend  
 into the sepulchre. I see nigh with mine  
 eyes, that was farre hid in my hearte.  
 And as the goddes be fauourable to you,  
 in this worlde, and equall and fauou-  
 rable to me in an other worlde, as my  
 fleshe neuer tooke pleasure to passe this  
 life, but my hearte was sodainly taken  
 with the feare of death, than take no  
 peine for me, for either I must se the  
 ende of you, or you of me. I yeld great  
 thanks to the goddes, that they take  
 away this olde person to rest with  
 theim, and leaue you yong for to serue  
 in the empyre. For there is no compari-  
 son for to speake of death to the life, nor  
 to eschue the death at the houre therof.

And

# AVRELIVS.

And yet I wyll not deny, but I do feare death, as a mortall man. Whan the lyfe passeth, there is no prudence in a prudent, nor vertue in a vertuous, nor lordship in a lord, that can take away the feare of the spirite, nor peine of the flesh. At this time the soule and the fleshe, are so combined and so conglutinate together, and the spirite with the bloude are so annexed, that the separation of the one from the other is the most terrible, and the laste terrible of all terriblenes. Certesly it accordeth vnto good reason, that the soule departe dolorouslie, leaupnge the fleshe vnto wormes, and the body as enuious to see the soule goe and sporke with the Goddes. What lyttell thought wee take in this lyfe, vntyll wee fall grouelynge with our eyes vpon death. Beleue me, sithe I haue passed from whense ye be, and haue experimented that ye dose see, that is, the vanities of vs that are vaine is so a greable to vs that whan we beginne to lyue, we imagyne, that our lyfe will endure a hole worlde, and whan it is ended, it semeth vs to bee but a puffe or a blaske of wynde. And because than sensualitee pyneth for  
sens



M A R C V S.

sensibillitee, and the flesh for the flesh,  
 reason guided with them that be mor-  
 tall telleth me, that it peineth not with  
 the departynge. If I haue lyued as a  
 brute beast, it is reason that I die as a  
 discrete man ought to doe. I dyng this  
 day shall die all my sickenesse, hungre  
 shall die, colde shall die, all my peines  
 shall die, my thought shall die, my dis-  
 pleasure shall die, and euery thyng that  
 geueth peine and sorowe. This daye  
 the night shall be taken away, and the  
 sunne shine bright in the skie. This daie  
 the ruste shall be taken from myne eyes  
 and I shall see the sunne clerely: This  
 day the way shall be made smothe for  
 to goe right: this is, the day shall ende  
 the iourney, wherin I shall not drede  
 the states of Fortune. I thanke the god-  
 des immortall, that haue suffred me to  
 liue so clerely and so longe a time. This  
 daie I shall haue an ende of all vn-  
 happy destenies of enuious Fortune,  
 and not they of me. Of trouthe yf the  
 Goddes haue commaunded my flesh  
 to be hidde in the Sepulchre, and to  
 be as mortall: yet if they be iuste and  
 dooe well, they wyl make my renoume  
 to be immortall, because I haue lyued  
 well

A V R E L I V S .

well. Than sith I chaunge this werse  
life and compaignie of menne, for the  
swetenesse of the goddes, and the doub-  
tes of fortune for this sure lyfe, & greate  
and contynuall feare for perpetuall  
peace, and this yll and naughtie corrupt  
lyfe, for good renoume and glorie, I  
thinke verylie this shoulde be none yll  
chaunge.

¶ It is now three score and two yeres  
sith the earth hath susteyned and scedde  
the earth of my body: It is now tyme  
that the earth knowlage me for hir son,  
and I will also take hir for my mother.  
Werelye it is a pitifull mother, that will  
now take me into hir entrailles for ever,  
sith that I haue so long space troden hir  
vnder my feete. And yet though that  
I were as I am, for to be as she is, I  
am in certaigne that she would kepe me  
surer among hir wormes, than Rome  
among the Senators.

¶ And all thughe it bee paynfull to  
you, if it please the goddes to haue it  
thus, no man can excuse nor scape it.  
I shuld be right well eased: if this web  
were broken, and my possession taken  
in the Sepulchre. Than shoulde I haue  
the firste thyng propre of myne owne,

and

M A R C V S.

and perpetuall without any feare of les-  
syng therof. All thinges mortall, that  
mortall folkes haue, and the enuye of  
them that be enuyous may be broken,  
excepte the death and the sepulchre, the  
which are prsuiledged from enraged hon-  
gre of enuy. I see you well, sheding teares  
from your eyes, and reyse heauy si-  
ghes from the depenesse of your hertes.  
Wyll ye not that I should desyre death,  
sith the phisicians geue me but thre  
houres of lyfe: and there are conteyned  
in me. iiii. dayes of peynes, the length  
whereof is a cronisme of deathe. And  
all though our debilitie be weake, yet  
for al that our honour is so sensible, that  
at the houre of death the more that the  
bones dischargeth them of the fleshe, the  
more is the herte charged with though-  
tes. In maner that whan the sinewes  
bntie thesm from the bones of the bo-  
dy, than newlie they tye agayne a sore  
knotte to the hert. Now let vs leaue  
speakyng of that that toucheth particu-  
larly my selfe, and speake we in gene-  
rall of it, that is conuenient to a younge  
prince, and to you that are his tutors  
and maisters.

¶ Ye se here my sonne Commodus onely  
prynce

AVRELIVS.

prince and heire abyding for the heri-  
tage of the empyre: neyther for bringe  
good, that he meriterh pzeise, nor for be-  
yng yll, reppese. For he hath taken his  
naturalites of the goddes, and his nur-  
ture amonge you. Diuers times when  
he was a chyld, ye toke him in your ar-  
mes, to thentent that now he is a man,  
ye shuld set him in your hertes. With-  
to he hath taken you for his maisters,  
and now at this tyme, he muste repute  
you as his fathers: And whyles I ly-  
ued, ye helde him for your prynce in no-  
rishing him, for your emperour in set-  
tyng him, and as your parente in hel-  
pyng him, and as your son in teachyng  
hym. Witherto ye only helde him charge  
as father, mother, and maisters: He is  
nowe as a new shippe put this daie in  
to the right sea, fletyng to the bottom-  
lesse swalow, where as the sayles of  
prosperitee will make him fall, and the  
rockes of unhappynesse wyll drowne  
hym. Than among so many unporta-  
nate wyndes and unstable waters, ther  
is great necessitie of good ores. Sure-  
ly I am very sorre for the empyre, and  
haue great compassion of this younge  
prince, and suche as woulde his welth.

¶

Shall

shall more bewaile his lyfe than my  
 death. For scapyng fro the sea, I see my  
 selfe at a good sure port, and vpon main  
 lande, and leaue him the sweat and tra-  
 uayle. For as yet he knoweth not how  
 to aduenture to saile on the sea: nor yet  
 knoweth not whether he shall abide the  
 age of my long experience: nor whether  
 he shall be a reasonable emperour or no.  
 But what shall sorrowfull Rome dooe,  
 when it hath nourished a good prince,  
 and that fatal destiny maketh an ende  
 of hym? Or that by enuye of thein that  
 be yll, he is slayne: or the crueltie of the  
 goddess taketh him awaie: or that the  
 bodie by his owne propre handes bee  
 lifte vp in suche wise, that in the expe-  
 riment of princes, all the lyfe tyme par-  
 teth in bewailynge of the youth of yonge  
 princes, and the graunter of their aun-  
 cient princes passed. If those princes  
 beleued at the begynnyng of theyr Em-  
 pyre, other kynges that are sayled in  
 worlde, howe they be taughte when it  
 is so importable for one manne with-  
 out charge to rule so many realmes, and  
 he dooynge nothyng but take their goo-  
 des, robbe hym of his renoume, banishe  
 thir personnes fro him, and he to ende  
 his

AVRELIVS.

his lyfe, and his subiectes augmente  
their sorowes: and sith he is but one,  
he can dooe no more than one, though  
diuers hope that he doeth for all.

Begard in what misadventure a prince  
liueth, whan the least villaine in Italy  
thinketh, that all onely for him, and on  
him alone, the prince setteth his eyes.

And sith the worlde is so chaungeable,  
and the people so unruly, the day that  
a prince is crownded and exalted with a  
scepter royall, the same day he submit-  
teth his goodes to the courious, and all  
his estate to the semblance of other. Thus  
than in this the goddes shew their po-  
wer. For all the vnderstandynges are  
tacked to one free wyll. The sempyng of  
all they condemne, and allowe but one.  
They geue the domination to one, and  
the subiection to many. To one they giue  
the chastisement of all, and not al to the  
chastisement of one. For the taste of ma-  
ny, they geue meate but to one: the sa-  
nour wherof is swete to some and soure  
to other: to some remaineth the boane,  
and to some the fleshe, at the laste some  
be drowned and other be hindzed, and  
at the end al haue an end. I woulde de-

Ull

maunde

## M A R C V S

maunde of you, that be moſte familiar  
 what is the crowne of the myrrour, or the  
 ſceptre of golde, or the colour of perles  
 or precious ſtones, or rubes of Alexan-  
 der, or beſſell of Cozinth, or chariotes  
 of triumph, or what offices of Conſules  
 or dictatours are deſired in chaunge of  
 their reſt: for it is certaine, they cannot  
 attain to the one, without leſing of the  
 other. And this is the cauſe that there  
 be yll mariners, & to hardy pilottes, for  
 they flee from the ſea to the lande, and from  
 the lande to the ſea. One thyng I wyll  
 ſay, that is agaynſt my ſelf: every man  
 hateth warre, and no man ſeeketh for  
 peace. All ſo we for one that is an-  
 gred, and none is contente to appeace,  
 all would commaunde, but none will  
 be commaunded. This hath bene in  
 the worlde paſſed, and now at this pre-  
 ſent tyme men be ſo light, that they ra-  
 ther choſe to commaunde with perill,  
 than to obey with reſt. Seyng that my  
 daies are diminifhed, and my ſickenes  
 augmented, ſuſpectyng than that I ſee  
 now, whan I retourned from the warre  
 of Sicill, I determined to make my te-  
 ſtamente, the whiche ye may ſee here:  
 Open and beholde it, and therby ye  
 ſhall

AVRELIVS.

Shall se, how I leaue you to be maisters  
of my sonne, yet in loue and fidelitee ye  
be together all as one. Great perill the  
prince is in, and the common welth in  
an yll aduenture, where as be many in-  
tencions among the gouernours. Cer-  
taynly the princes are glorious, and the  
people well fortunat, and the Senate  
happie, whan all agree in one counsell,  
and that the counsaillours be auncient,  
and many of them, and al their intenci-  
ons agree vpon one thyng. Whan this  
was in Rome it was feared and dredde  
of tyrauntes, hauinge their consultaci-  
ons approued with. iiii. C. barons. And  
though their reasons were diuers, yet  
their willes and intentes were all one  
for the common welth. I desire and con-  
fure you by the goddes, that ye be al frē-  
des in conuersacion, and conforuable  
in counsell. All the weake debilitie in  
a prince may be suffred, except yll coun-  
sell: and all defautes of counsellors are  
tollerable, except enuy and yre. Whan  
the frettyng wourme called a moth en-  
tereth among theim, it causeth perill in  
iustice, dishonour to the prince, sclander  
in the commons, and parcialitee in the  
superiours. The counsaillour that hath  
¶
his



# MARCVS

his mynde ouercome with yre, and his  
 hert occupied with enuy, and his woꝝ-  
 des outragious to a good man, it is re-  
 son that he lose the fauour of the god-  
 des, his pꝛiuitie with the pꝛince, and the  
 eredence of the people, for he presumeth  
 to offende the goddes with yll intenti-  
 on, to serue the pꝛince with ill counsell,  
 and to offende the common welth with  
 his ambition. Who ignorant at these  
 pꝛincipis, that take hede of suche herbes  
 and venims, that might popson them in  
 their meates, and care not for the pop-  
 son that they of their pꝛiuy counsaile  
 doo giue them? Doubtlesse there is no  
 comparision, for the herbes and popsons  
 can be giuen but on one daie: but the ve-  
 nim of yll counsel is giuen euery houre.  
 Venym is defended by the hozne of an  
 vnicoꝛne, by triacle, and other wyse by  
 vomites: but the poison by yll counsell  
 hath no remedy, and lesse defensiuēs.  
 And finally I saie, that the venim gi-  
 uen by an ennemy can but slea one em-  
 perour in Rome, but the popson giuen  
 by him that is most pꝛiuy to euill coun-  
 sell, sleeth the emperor, and destruieth  
 the common welth. And where as eue-  
 ry vertuous pꝛince setteth moze by per-  
 petuall

# AVRELIVS.

petrall renoume, than this fallible life,  
 ye being gouernours of the empire, and  
 maisters to my sonne, they that owe  
 him yll wyll, haue not so muche power  
 ouer his lyfe, as ye haue vpon his re-  
 noume. Therefore if he be awaked by  
 his enemies straungers, muche rather  
 he ought to be awaked amonge his do-  
 mesticall freendes. One thyng I com-  
 maunde as to my seruantes, and I des-  
 fire you as my freendes, that ye shewe  
 not your selfe so priuie openlie, as ye be  
 in secrete, to the entent that some seme  
 not as naturall sonnes, and other as  
 hired seruauntes. He that is vertuose,  
 ought to haue great regards to the pro-  
 fite of his lord secretly, and to be meke  
 of conuersacion with euery man open-  
 ly, els his priuitee wyl not long endure,  
 and the hate of the prince with the peo-  
 ple will increace. Oftentimes I haue  
 redde of our predecessours, and I haue  
 sene it in the present Romaines, whan  
 many holde with one, than one holdeth  
 but littell with diuers, and lesse with  
 manye, the whiche keepeth their wil-  
 les as farre of, as the persons be nygh.  
 And sith the plnesse of the tyme, and  
 vnstablenesse of Fortune neuer leaueth

# MARCVS

any thyng in one case, but all is as in  
maner of a dreame, the most sure pur-  
chase is to flee fro perill, for than when  
the princes haue passed their pleasures  
intermedled in trauayles, thei serche for  
many, and finde not one. Therof cometh  
that one presente, for feare will with-  
draue hym, and an other out of fauour  
and absente, wyl not come. I wyl  
shewe you one thyng, the whiche you  
shall alwaie put in my sonnes memory:  
They that in our traualles haue deter-  
mined of a long season to applie them,  
we oughte to winne theyr good wylls.  
The wilie labourer in one yere labou-  
reth to get cornes together, and in in an  
other yere he soweth and gathereth. Bee  
not to presumptuous, for the presumpti-  
on of an ancient prince, fordoeth the au-  
ctozitee of the young pryncce: yet for all  
this, dispayre not rebuke hym not so mu-  
che: For the lacke of maners in the state  
of a lorde ingendreth vnshamefastnesse  
in him, and boldenesse to the seruant. I  
haue left in my testament the prince Co-  
modus for your sonne, and you for his  
fathers. But I will not commaunde,  
that euery manne knowlage hym to be  
their lord, and to be at his commaunde-  
ment.

# AVRELIVS.

ment. And ye my other seruantes and  
subiectes to be in his obedience, and in  
all his high businesses to be well gup-  
ped as his friendes and louers. Justice  
ought to be seene to, by wise oratours,  
accoꝝdꝝng to the opinton of you that be  
his gouernours. And alwaie the de-  
termination to be dooen by the pꝛynce,  
whiche is loꝝde of all. One counsell I  
wꝛll geue you (and if you fynde it yll,  
blame me afoꝝe the goddis) wherby the  
Emppꝛe of my sonne shall be stable and  
permanent in Rome, and your pꝛiuitee  
sure in his house, if your counsellles bee  
moued by reason, and his will ruled by  
your counsellles. I desire soꝝe that ye be  
not couetous: and therefore I haue ge-  
uen you diuers gistes and thaunckes in  
my lyfe, to take couetousnesse from you  
afoꝝe my death. It were a monstꝛuous  
thyng and very dꝛedfull, that suche as  
oughte to refrayne couetyse fro straun-  
gers, to haue theyꝝ owne handes open  
foꝝe theyꝝ owne pꝛopꝛe lucre. The ver-  
tuous pꝛiuite men ought not to do all the  
yll that they maie, noꝝ to despyꝛe all that  
they maie attygne vnto, to the entente  
that the pꝛince geue them so muche goo-  
des foꝝe the pꝛofite of their houses, as  
peine

# MARCVS

peyne and enuie of the people to their  
 personnes. And as in meane shippes  
 men scape best in a mean sea, soner thā  
 in great carrackes in the waues of the  
 roving and impiteous seas: in likewise  
 such as be in meane estate among them  
 that be but meanely enuyous, liue moꝝ  
 surely, than such as ar set in high estate  
 and priuitie beyng riche, to be passioned  
 among enemies, that disdeintully wold  
 put theim vnder. It is a notable rule  
 among wise menne, and an infallible  
 experience among theim that be good,  
 and I thinke that by hering therof, the  
 yll shall knowelage it: The glorie of  
 one among great menne maketh stryfe,  
 suspection in theim that be egall, and  
 enuie amonge theim that be meane.  
 One thyng, that thei that gouerne wel,  
 ought to haue, is liberalitee. The lesse  
 ye be couetouse, the moze ye shall be li-  
 berall. For with the rage of couetous-  
 nesse, the right of Iustice is minished.  
 It is longe tyme sith I determined to  
 geue you the gouernynge of the Emperre,  
 and the nourishynge of my sonne. And  
 to haue prouided to haue geuen you  
 largely of my goodes, to put the coue-  
 tyng of other mennys goodes from you.

# AVRELIVS.

I warrant you one thyng: if couetousnes be amonge you, & be enuied of your neighbours, you shall liue in payne, and your heartes shall be payned with other mens busineses, and your myndes shall be euer in suspecte. Than shall ye solow the Iustice of other, where as ye shall see your owne proppr twelthe. One counsell finally I wyll geue you, whiche I haue taken alway my selfe. Neuer comit your honours to the misshappes of fortune: no; neuer offer your selfe to perill with hope of remedy. For suspicious fortune kepeth alwaies hyr gates wide open for peril, and hir walles been high, and hir wickets narrow to fynd any remedy. And because I fele my selfe sore trauapled, I pray you suffer me to rest a littell.

How the emperour at the houre of his death, sent for his sonne, and declared to him, who shuld gouerne the empire. Ca. xliiii.

Thus a great parte of the nyghte passed, and the daye beganne to bryake: and the lyfe of this good emperour beganne faste to draw to an ende

# M A R C V S

ende: yet for all that he lefte not the remembrance of suche thinges as should be ordered after his death. There were that time in the warre with him diuers right excellent men Senators of Rome: and in all thynges he shewed him selfe right wise, and specially he wold neuer haue any vicious person in his house. He had euer in his compaignie .i. gentilmen knightes, and in eche of them he might haue put trust to gouerne Rome. Oftentimes this good emperour wolde say, that princes liued moze surely with the gatheryng to them men of good liuyng and conuersacion, than with treasure of money stuffed in their cheastes. Unhappy is the prince, that esteemeth him selfe happy to haue his coffers full of treasure, and his counsell full of men of yll liuyng. These malicious and yll men make princes poore: and a perfect man sufficeth to make a whole realme riche. Surely this emperour said well. For we doo see dayly, that what the father hath gotten in fiftie yeres, the sone loseth in halfe a yere. Than chosynge among many a fewe, and of fewe to take the best, this emperour appointed out vi. notable barons: Thre of them to be  
mat.

# AVRELIVS.

maisters of his son, and. iiii. to be gouernours of the empyre. One was called Martinar, which after was emperour, another was called Pompeiano, husband to his doughter, as sure in counsell, as he was aged in yeres. The. iiii. Oneo Patrocle, of the auncient stocke of the Pompeis, whiche was no lesse cleane in his liuing than his hear? wer white: The. v. was called Andrisco, which in goodlines of his gesture, highnes of body, vertue of courage, and wysdome in counsaile, none was egall to hym in Rome. The. vi. was named Bononius, whiche at that tyme was consule, and in the auncient lawes very expert: The last was called Iuan Varius, the good, and he was called the good, bycause that in. lx. yere neuer man saw him do any ill woorkes, nor harde hym speake any ybell worde, nor doo any thyng, but it was profitable to the common welth. Though in case they were all egall in gouernynge, yet I saie these last three were principal. For Iuan Varius perticularly was lesse to be these capitaine of the army, and to hym was deliuered all the treasure, and the testamente was putte into his handes:  
and



M A R C V S.

and with soze weping the emperour recommended to him the prince his sonne. Than whan the pain of his sicknesse encreased, and that he looked for the howze of his death, he commaunded to awake his sonne Comodus, whiche withoute any care was fast a slepe, and whan he was brought into the presence of hys father, it was greate pitie to see the eyes of the olde emperour soze discouloured with wepyng, and the eyes of the sonne almost closed with sleapyng: the sonne was wakyng with small thought, and the father coulde not sleepe for greate thought and peine. And whan he was in his presence, seyng the litle care that the sonne tooke for the death of his father, and consyderpng the great desyre of the father for the good life of his son, it moued to pitie the heartes of all the great lordes that were there, no lesse to leaue the compaignie of the good olde man, than the annoiance of the dealing of the younge prince. Than the Emperour sayde to his sonne these woordes.

What

AVRELIVS.

What the Emperour said to his  
sonne at the houre of his death.

Capitulo.

xlv.

**V**nto thy maysters and my gouer-  
nours I haue shewed howe they  
shall counsaile thee: add nowe  
my sonne at this houre, I saie to thee,  
how they (though they be but a fewe)  
all for the alone shall gouerne: and it is  
not to be taken in small estimacion.

The moste easiest thyng in the worlde  
is to geue counsaile to an other: and  
the moste hardest and highest thinge is,  
a manne to take it for him selfe. There  
is none so synple a manne, but he may  
geue good counsaile, though there bee  
no neede. And there is none so wyse, that  
wyl refuse counsell in tyme of necessi-  
tie. I see one thyng, that all take coun-  
saile for all, and at the laste take it for  
him selfe. Sonne I thinke, accordynge  
to my heauye fatall destenies, and thine  
yll customes, that one thyng shall not  
profyte thee, that is, if the littell good-  
nesse that thou hast done was for feare  
of me in my lyfe, that thou wylte dooe  
lesse, whan thou haste forgotten my  
death. I dooe moze now for to satisfie  
my

my desyre and the comon welth, than  
 for the hope that I haue of the amende-  
 ment of thy lyfe. There is not a worse  
 complainte, than that a man holdeth  
 of hym selfe. If thou my sonne be yll,  
 Rome will complayne to the goddess,  
 that they haue geuen the so yll inclina-  
 cions: They will complaine of Fau-  
 stine thy mother, that hath brought  
 the vp so wantonlye: and they will com-  
 plaine on thy selfe, that thou doest not  
 refraine the from vyces: and they shall  
 not complayne of thynne old father, that  
 hath geuen the so many good counsels.  
 I am in certayne, thou hast not so great  
 dolour to see the ende of this night, and  
 the ende of my lyfe, as thou hast pleasure  
 to see the daie that thou shalt be  
 Emperour, and I haue no meruaile,  
 for where as sensualitee reigneth, rea-  
 son is put asyde. Diuers thynges are  
 beleued, because they are not knowen  
 certainely. How many thynges of  
 trouth bene there, that if they were kno-  
 wen truely, they should be leste. But  
 we ben so doubtful in euery thyng, and  
 go about our businesse so variably and  
 inconstantly, that sometyme our spiri-  
 tes breake the purpose, and an other  
 time

tyme they rydde vs out of trouble and  
 hinderance. I saie, we be so swift to do  
 yll, that somtyme we leese by a carde of  
 the most, and to doe well we be so dull,  
 that we leese a carde of the least: and as  
 the last, we do nothyng but leese. Sonne  
 I wyll aduertise the by woordes, that I  
 haue knowen in. lxxi. yeres by longer  
 perience: and sith thou arte my sonne  
 and younge, it is reason that thou be-  
 leue hym that is thy olde father. As we  
 princes are regarde of all men, and re-  
 garde all men, and are regarded of all  
 other, this dase thou doest inherite the  
 Emperre of the worlde, and the court of  
 Rome. I knowe well there be ynow in  
 the court of princes, that know nothyng  
 what is to make theyn selfe of worthy-  
 nesse, and to mainteine them self among  
 so many trumperies as ar treated in the  
 houses of princes: I let the to wit, that  
 in the courte is aunciente parcialitees,  
 presente dissencions, fearefull vnder-  
 standynges, euydente witnessses, en-  
 trailes of serpentes, tongues of Scor-  
 pions, many detractours, and fewe that  
 seeke peace: and where as ail menne  
 shoulde hearken to the common voyce,  
 every man searcheth his owne profyte.

¶

Every

## M A R C V 3

Every man sheweth a good pretence, &  
 all are occupied in yll woorkes: In such  
 wise, that some by auarice lese theyr  
 good fame, and some prodigally spend  
 and waste all theyr goodes. What  
 should I saie more? In the courte eue-  
 ry daie the Lordes chaunge and alter  
 the lawes, awake stryfes, and reple  
 nishes, abate noblenesse, exalte the br-  
 woozthe, banishe innocentes, and ho-  
 nour theues, loue flatterers, and dys-  
 prayse them the whiche be vertuouse,  
 thei embrace delytes, and treade vertue  
 vnder their feete: they wepe for them  
 that be yll, and laugh to scozne them  
 that be good, and finallie they take all  
 lightnesse for their mother, and vertue  
 for their steppemother. And my sonne I  
 saie more vnto the. The court, the whiche  
 thou shalte enheryte this daie, is no-  
 thyng but a shoppe with wares, and a  
 house of vacabundes, wherein some sell  
 vile and corrupt thynges, and other by  
 lies, some haue credence, and some haue  
 renoume, some haue goodes, and some  
 haue lyuyng, and altogether is but losse  
 of tyme: and that worst of all is, they  
 will not beleue the poyson thereof, tyll  
 it be at their heartes, they are so foo-  
 lish

AVRELIVS.

liſſhe and ſturble. Rome hath veray hie  
 walles, and the vertues is veray lowe  
 Rome vaunteth it ſelfe to bee veray  
 ſtronge in numbze of inhabitauntes,  
 and afterwarde Rome ſhal weepe that  
 there is moze people than vertue,  
 and vices are not accompted. In a mo-  
 neth a man might reckon all the ſtones  
 of the proude edifices, but in a .xx. ye-  
 res he might not compziſe the malices  
 of his yll cuſtomes. I ſweare to thee  
 by the immortall goddes, that in thre  
 peres I repaired all that was decayed  
 in Rome, and in thirtie yere I coulde  
 not reforme one quarter therof to good  
 liuyng. Good ſonne beleue me, the great  
 citieſ full of good inhabitauntes ought  
 to be prayſed, and not the greate edify-  
 ces. Our predeceſſours haue trium-  
 phed on ſtrangers as weakes and feble:  
 and now they may triumphe on vs al-  
 ſo, as men that bee moze vanquiſhed  
 with vices, than any of the other. By  
 the mightineſſe & proweſſes of our pre-  
 deceſſours, we that be now, are greatly  
 honoured and exalted: and by the ſmall  
 eſtimacion of vs, that be nowe, they  
 that come after vs, ſhall be greatly a-  
 ſhamed. Of a very trouth it is a greate  
 shame

# M A R C V S

shame to say, and lesse infamy to doo,  
that the goodnesse and trauaile of the  
auncientes, should now be tourned and  
conuerted to folies and pzumption.  
My sonne looke well on thy selfe, that  
the reyne of thy yowthe, and libertie of  
the Emppze, cause thee not to commit  
vice. He is not called onely free, that is  
free borne, but he that dieth within the  
same. How wel are the slaues borne,  
that after their death are free by theys  
goodnesse, and how many haue dyed  
slaues by their naughtinesse, that were  
borne free. There is freedom, where no  
blennesse abideth. The pzouesse of thy  
person shall giue the more hardynesse  
and libertie, than the auctoritie of the  
emppze. It is a general rule, that euery  
vertuous man of necessitie is to be hol-  
den hardie: & euery vicious man of ne-  
cessitie is to be reputed a coward. Now  
boldely they be chastised that be noted  
with any vice, and coldly they be cha-  
stised, that deserue chastisement. Let  
the pzince be in certein, that the loue of  
his people, and the libertie of his office,  
hath not wherewith to vpholde him in  
armes spred abroad on the erth, without  
the diuers vertues assebled in his persn.

¶ Act.

# AVRELIVS.

**C**ertaynly Octavius Caesar subdued  
 mo nations by the renoume of hir ver-  
 tues, than did Balus his vncle wyth  
 his armie of many men. All the worlde  
 lope of a vertuous Prince, and it se-  
 meth, that all the worlde riseth agaynst  
 a vicious prince. Vertue is a strong ca-  
 skell, and can neuer be wonne: it is a ri-  
 ner, wher nedeth no rowyng, a sea that  
 moueth not, a fyre that quencherh not,  
 a treasure that neuer bath end, an army  
 neuer ouercome, a burdeine that neuer  
 werieth, a spie that neuer retourneth, a  
 signe that neuer deceiueth, a plain way  
 that neuer falleth, a sirope that healeth  
 soothwith: and a renoume that neuer  
 perissheth. O my sonne, if thou knewest  
 what thyng it is to be good, and what  
 a man thou shouldest bee, if thou were  
 vertuous, thou shouldest doo seruice to  
 the goddes, good renoume to thy selfe,  
 pleasure to thy freendes, and engender  
 loue of straungers, and finally all the  
 worlde should feare and loue thee.

**I** remembze that in the booke of pe-  
 res of the battail of Tarentine, I found  
 that the renomied Pyrrhus, kyng of the  
 Epyrothiens, bare in a ryng grauen  
 these woordes: So a vertuous man is



# MARCVS

but a small reward, to be lord of all the earth: and it is but a small chastisement to take a vicious mans life from him.

**T**ruilie it was a woorthy sentence of such a prince. What thing is it, be it neuer so difficile, begunne by a vertuous man, but there is hope to haue a good end therof: Sothely I haue sene in diuers parties of mine empire, diuers men very darke of good fame, very lowe in goodes, and vnknowen of theyr kynne and bloud: undertake so great thynges, that to my sempynge, it was a fearefull audacitee to begin. And yet by the wynges of vertue all onely they haue had good renoume at the laste. By the immortal geddes, and as the good Iupiter byyng me in his mancion, and as blisse thee, in all that is mine. There wer once, a gardiner & a potter, dwelling in Rome, which only by their vertues, caused to put tenne vicious Senators out of the Senate, and the firste occasion was, for makynge a hedge of thorne, and a potte, for the workmanship and labour wherof, the Senatours woulde not pay them. I tell it thee my sonne, because that vice maketh a bolde person thoughtfull, and vertue causeth hyni

him, that is in thought to take strength  
and boldnesse. I was well ware of two  
thynges in my lyfe, not to pleade a-  
gaynst the clerenes of iustice, nor to take  
parte agaynst a vertuous person: For  
with vertue god susteineth vs, and with  
Iustice the people are well gouerned  
and ruled.

**O**f other more particular coun-  
sailes, geuen by the Emper-  
our to his sonne.

Lap. xlvj.



**N**ow to come to thinges more  
particular. Seeyng sonne,  
that thou art yong, and that  
nature can not deny the. And  
as in al difficile thinges, ripe  
counsell is necessarie, no lesse to cōforte  
the state of our liuing, we desire som re-  
creations. For thy youth, I leaue thee  
with great lordes children, with whom  
thou maist passe the tyme: And to teach  
the I leaue olde Romaines, that haue  
nourished the, & serued me, of who thou  
shalt take counsell. The inuencion of in-  
terludes, of Theatres, to fythe in pon-  
des, to hunte wyld beastes, to course in  
the

# MARCVS

the seedes, to haue for bydes, and to  
 exercise debes of armes, at the thynges  
 that thy youth desyzeth. And youthe  
 with youthe ought to kepe company, in  
 doyng the same. But behold my sonne,  
 that in orderpng of armies, to applie  
 the warres, to pursue victories, to ac-  
 cepte truce, to confyrme peace, to reise  
 trybutes, to make lawes, to promote  
 some, and dismisse other, to chastise the  
 yll, and recompence the good: In all  
 these thynges, that bee so chargeable,  
 they that be of clere mynde, redy broken  
 and trauailed of their bodies, and white  
 headed, ought to be taken to counsaile  
 the. And sith thou art younge and lusty  
 of bodie, reioyce and sport with them  
 that be yonge: and whan thou art em-  
 perour, than touchyng thy secrete affay-  
 res, take counsell of them that be olde.  
 Beware my sonne of all extremities,  
 for as yll may the prince be, vnder the  
 colour of grauntee, to bee ruled by the  
 auncient persons, as vnder the colour  
 of pastyme, to kepe compaignie with  
 younge folkes. It is no generall rule,  
 that all younge persons shall alwaies  
 be younge and lyghte, nor that all olde  
 personnes shoulde be alwayes wyse.

I am sure of one thyng, that if the yong man be bozne with folie, the olde man liueth and dieth with couetysle. Therefore my son beware, be not extreme in extremitess. For the yong people will corrupte the with their lightnesse, and olde folkes will depꝛue thy mynd with their couetousnesse. What thyng can be more monstruouse, than a Prynce that commaundeth euery manne, to be commaunded of one? Soothlie the gouernynge of dyuerse, can not be gouerned well by the opinion of one alone. Than the prynce that gouerneth many, ought to haue the intencion and opinion of dyuers.

In the annales of the Pompeyens, I found a lyttel booke of remembrance, the whiche greate Pompeye bare alwaie with him: wherin were dyuerse good councelles and aduertysementes, the whiche were geuen in dyuers parties of the worlde: Among the whyche, I founde these woordes: He that gouerneth the common wealthe, and putteth the gouernaunce to theim that bee olde, sheweth hym selfe vnable: and he that trusteth in youth, is lyghte: and he that gouerneth by hym selfe alone,

is hardie and bolde: and he that gouerneth by hym selfe and other, is wyse. These were notable woordes.

**¶** Whan my sonne, determyne thee to take counsel, and specially in high thynges and matters of difficultee, and as ther wyse let theim not be determyned.

For whan the counsell is taken of dyuers, than if any faute be, it shall be deuyded among them all. Though the determination might be done by a few, yet take counsaile of many. Among all thy welthes, heare the comon counsell. For one will shewe the all the inconuenience, an other the peryll, an other the damage, an other the profyte, an other the remedie. And set as well thyne eyes vpon the inconueniencies, that they lay, as vpon the remedy that they offer.

Whan thou beginnest any hard matter, esteeme as well the small damages that maie befall afoze, and stoppe them, as to remedie the gret misfortunes that come after. Of trouth the strong and mightie shippe oft times for a small takyng hede of the pylotte, is sounken and drowned in a littell water: and an other shippe, not so strong, with wise diligence, is saued in the goulfe of the sea. Be not anoy

# AVRELIVS.

ed to take counsell in small matters e-  
uery houre. For many thynges foozth-  
with require to be looked to, and in ab-  
dyng for counsell, it endomageth. And  
that that thou canst dispatche by thyne  
owne auctoritee, without damage of  
the common welth, put it not to any o-  
ther person. For sith thy seruice all one-  
ly dependeth of thine, the rewarde des-  
pendeth of thee alone.

**I**n the yere. vi. C. rrr. of the founda-  
cion of Rome, after the cruell warres  
doen agaynst the kynge of Numidie,  
the day that Marius triumphed, with-  
out pnttyng of any of the richesse, that  
he brought, into the common treasorie,  
he deuided it to his men of warre. And  
whan he was therfore accused and as-  
ked, why he tooke not first the opinion  
of the Senate: He answered and said  
Sith they toke not the opinion of other,  
to do the seruice, it wer not reason that  
I should take counsell of other, to re-  
warde and recompence them.

**S**onne, yet I wyll aduertise thee of  
other thynges. Peraduenture some wil  
giue thee counsell, er thou demaunde it  
in that case kepe this general rule neuer  
abide the seconde counsel of a man, if he  
haue

# MARCVS

hane giuen the counsaile before in the  
preiudice of an other. For he offereth bys  
woordes in thy seruice, to bringe the  
busines to his owne profit. O my sonne,  
there ar many thinges to know a man.  
xv. yere I haue been a Senatour, Con-  
sule, censure, capitain, and tribune: and  
xviii. yeres I haue been Emperoure of  
Rome, and diuers haue spoken to me,  
in preiudice of other, and many mo, for  
their owne profite, and none haue spo-  
ken cleerly to me, for the profite of os-  
ther, nor for my seruice. Greate com-  
passion ought to bee taken of princes:  
for euery man foloweth them for theyr  
own profite, and none for loue and ser-  
uice. One counsell I tooke for my selfe,  
all the whyle that I haue gouerned  
Rome: I neuer kept man in my house,  
after that I knew him hatefull against  
the common welthe.

**I**n the yere of the foundacio of Rome  
vi. C. lix. of the Olimpiade. C. lxviii.  
Lucullus Patricien, greate freende to  
Sylla, goyng to the warre of Metrida-  
tes, it chanced that in Tygoano, a ci-  
tie of Caldies, he founde a plate of co-  
per or brasse vpon the kynges gates,  
wherin were certayne letters, which  
they

thei said were grauen there by the commaundement of Alexander the great. The letters were in Caldee, conteining these sentences: That prince is not wise that wpll holde his life in perill, and wpll not assure his lyfe and state with the loue of all men: That prince is not bertuous, that geuyng muche to one person, willeth all other to haue but littell. That prince is not iuste, that wpll satisfie more the couetise of one person, than the voyces of all men: That prince is a foole, that dispiseth the counsell of all other, and trusteth all onely vpon the opinson of one. And finallye that prince is to bolde and hardie, that for the loue of one, wpll be hated of all other.

These were woordes of eternall memorie. And in dede these princes should haue this alwaies in their presence. Sonne yet I shall saye more to this. This Lucullus Patricien brought in to the Senate, all the treasure that he had, and this plate, with the said woordes theron, to the intent that they shuld chole the one, and leaue the other. And the Senate refused all the treasure, and tooke the counselles witten theron.



M A R C V S.

**C**ofdyuers and particular recoommens-  
dacions, whiche the Emperours  
commaunded his sonne.

Lap. xlviii.



Haue shewed, lyke a fa-  
ther, the thyng, that thou  
cheth thy welch: Now I  
wil shew thee, what thou  
oughtest to doo after my  
death, for my seruice.

Those thynges that I haue loued in my  
lyfe, if thou wylte be sonne to thy fa-  
ther, esteeme them after my death. First  
my sonne, I recomment to the, the wor-  
shippynge of the Temples, and the reue-  
rence of the priestes, with the honour of  
the goddes. So long shall the honour of  
the Romains last, as they perseuere in  
the seruice of the goddes. The realme of  
the Carthaginens perished not, because  
they wer not so riche, or more cowardes  
than the Romains: but because they lo-  
ued their treasures to much, and were  
but yll worshippers and louers of the  
Temples. My sonne, I recomment to  
the Helia, thy stepmother, and remem-  
ber, that though she be not thine owne  
mother, yet she is my wyfe: and on the  
peyns of my cursyng, suffre not that she

AVRELIVS.

be yll intreated. For the domage that  
 thee should suffre by thy consent, should  
 geue euydence of the small thoughte,  
 that thou takest of my deathe, whiche  
 should be an iniury to thy lyfe. I haue  
 lefte to hir the tributes and reuenewes  
 of Hostie, for to mainteigne hir degree:  
 and the gardeynes of vulcan, whych  
 I caused to make for hir recreation.  
 And if thou take it from hir, thou she-  
 west thyne ylnesse. And to suffre hir to  
 enioye it, I commaund the by thyne o-  
 bedience, and to shewe hir thy bountie  
 and largesse. Remember thee is a Ro-  
 maine, younge, and a widowe of the  
 house of my lord Traian, and how she  
 is thy mother adoptiue, and my natu-  
 rall wife: wherefore I leaue hir vnder  
 thy recommendacion. Also I committe  
 to the thy brethren in lawe: and thy si-  
 sters, my daughters, I leaue theym all  
 married, not to straunge kynges, but to  
 the naturall inhabytauntes and city-  
 sens of Rome. They dwell all within  
 the walles of Rome, where as they  
 make dooe the seruyce, and thou maiest  
 doe them good. Sonne, intreate them  
 in suche wise, that though they good  
 father be deade, yet leat them haue  
 fauour,

M A R C V S.

faunour. And though they see their brother Emperour of Rome, yet let them not be defouled. Women be of a right tendre condicion, they will complaine for a small cause, and for lesse they will reple vp in pryde: thou oughtest to conserue them after my death, as I haue doone in my lyfe. For otherwyle their conuersacion should be sekill to the people, and importunate to the. Also I commit to the Alipula thy syster, that is among the virgins Vestales. Thynke that shee is daughter of thy mother Faustine, whiche I haue greatly loued in my lyfe, and vnto the howze of my death, I haue lamented hers, Euerie yeaere I gaue to thy sister. ii. M, sesters, for hir necessitees: she had bene as well maryed as the other, if shee had not be bzent in the vsage: whiche was esteemed of euery man an ill aduenture, and specially of hir mother, that wepte alwase for hir. But I esteeme that yll aduenture, a good fortune. For if she had not bene bzent in the fate with syre, she had in the worlde, as touchyng hir renoume, be bzent with diuerse tongues. Sonne, I swere to the, that for the seruice of the goddes, and the fame of men,

She

AVRELIVS.

She is moze surer with the birgins in the temple, than though she were in the Senate, with the Senatours. I deme that at the ende of the iourney, she shall find hir self better at ease, closed and locked in, than thou with all thy lybertee. In the prouince of Lucany, I haue left for hir, the. ii. M. sesters: I will not that thou take them from hir. Also I commit Dnistia the widowe to the, which hath laied a great protes against the Senate, because that by motions befoze passed, hir husbände was banished: I haue great compassion of hir: for it is. lli. monethes, sith she put in hir demaund, and because of my great warres, I could not declare hir iustice. Sonne, thou shalt fynde it trewe, that in. xxxv. yere, that I haue gouerned Rome, there was neuer wydowe, that helde hir processe befoze me, passyng eyght dayes. Take compassion of suche. For womens necessities are right perillous, and at the laste, yf theyr busynesses be longe in hande, they recouer not so muche of theyr goodes as they lese in theyr renoun. Also haue compassion of poore men, and the goddis shall reward the, with great riches. Also I commit to the, my ancient

# M A R C V S

Seruauntes, to whom my longe yerres  
 and cruell warres, my often necessities  
 the displeasure of my body, and my long  
 sickenesses, hath bene right peinesfull.  
 For they, as true seruauntes, to geue me  
 lyfe, haue taken payne vnto the death. It  
 is reason, that sith I haue taken theyr  
 death, that they inheryte parte of my  
 lyfe. One thyng I holde for certayne,  
 In case that my bodye abyde in the se-  
 pulchre with woozmes, yet I shall al-  
 waies before the goddes, haue remem-  
 brance of theim. In this doyng, thou  
 shalte doo as a good childe, to satisfye  
 theim, that haue serued thy father.  
 Take hede my sonne, every prync, do-  
 yng iustice, acqwyreth enemies in the ex-  
 ecucion thereof. And this is doone by  
 them, that are most nere to him. For  
 the more prync they are with the prync,  
 the more hatefull they are to the peo-  
 ple. And though every man loueth ius-  
 tice in generall, yet they all hate ex-  
 ecucion thereof in particular. Whan a  
 iuste prync is deade, the people take  
 vengeance of the vniuste seruauntes.  
 Whan thou were a childe, my seruaun-  
 tes nourished the, to the entente, that  
 thou shouldest susteyn theim in their age  
 Surely

# AVRELIVS.

Surely it were a great shame to them  
pire, an offence to the godd, an iniurie  
to me, and an vngentilnesse of thee, that  
thou hast sounde them eighteene yeres,  
with their armes abrode to halfe thee,  
that thei should finde one day thy gates  
shut agaynst them. These thynges I com-  
mit to thee particulerlie, kepe theim al-  
way in memozy. And sith I remembre  
them at my death, consider how I lo-  
ued them in my life.

Of the last woordes that the Emperours  
spake to his sonne, and of a table that  
he gaue him. Cap. xlii.



When the Emperour  
had ended his sayde  
recomendacions, the  
day began to spring  
and his eie strynges  
began to breake, and  
his tongue faultered  
& his handes shooke.  
Then the sayde happie Emperour, fe-  
lynge that weakenesse began soze for  
to drawe aboute his herte, he comman-  
ded Vanutius to go into his studie, and  
to bypnyng him a coaffre that was there.

And when it was brought to his presence, he opened it, and toke out a table of thre fote brode, and two fote longe, it was of wood Libanus, and round about garnished with Anicozne. It was closed with .ii. leaues subtilly wrought, of a redde wodde, that some saied was of the tree that the Phenix breedeth in, and is called Basin. And as there is but one bird Phenix breedyng in Arabie: so lyke wyse there is no more trees in the woꝛlde of the same kinde. On one of the outwarde parties of the Table, was pictured and graue the god Iupiter, on the other, the goddesse Venus: In the inwarde parties of the Table that shut, was pictured god Mars, and the goddesse Ceres: In the pꝛincipall of the last Table was pictured a Bull, subtilly wrought to the quicke, and vnder that a kyng was pictured. The which peinctures were saied to bee of the hande woꝛke of the expert Appelles, an ancient woꝛkeman in peincting. When the Emperour toke the table in his hande, and with greate peine he saied: Thou seest my sonne Commodus, how I am all ready scaped from the trappes of fortune, and am entryng into the heauy ad-  
uents

AVRELIVS.

creatures of death: I wot not why the  
 goddes haue created vs, sith there is so  
 great annoiance in our life, and so gret  
 peryll at our death. I vnderstande not  
 why the goddis haue and vse so greates  
 crueltie to the creatures. Aris. yea I  
 haue sailed with greates traualle thro-  
 rough the greates perilles of this lyfe,  
 and at this houre I am commaunded  
 to take lande and discharge me of my  
 flesh, and to take earth in the sepulchre.  
 Now vntieth the liueli thredes, now bit-  
 teth the spindel, now riueteth the webbe  
 now endeth my lyfe. Now am I a wa-  
 ler from the sleppng euyl, remembryng  
 how I haue passed my lyfe, I haue no  
 more desire to liue. And in that I know  
 not whiche way to goe, I refuse death:  
 What shall I doo? I am determined to  
 put me into the handes of the goddes  
 willingly, sith I must doo so of neces-  
 sitye, whome I requyte, if they haue cre-  
 ated me for any goodnesse, not to de-  
 priue me from them for my demerites.  
 I am now in the last gate: and to thys  
 holste I haue kepte the greatest and  
 moste excellent sewell that I coulde  
 fynde in all my lyfe. In the tenth yere  
 of mine Emppre, there arose a warre  
 Piii against



agaynst the Pārthes: wherefore I det-  
 ermined in myne owne person to geue  
 them battail. After that warre I came  
 by the auncient citie of Thebes, for to  
 see some antiquitie. Amonge the whi-  
 che in a priestes house, I found this ta-  
 ble, the whiche as a kynge was reysed  
 in Egypte, incontinents it was euer  
 hanged at his bedden head, and this  
 priest shewed me, that it was made by  
 a kynge in Egypte named Ptholome  
 Aelacides, that was a vertuous prince,  
 And in the memory of him, and exam-  
 ple of other, the priestes kepte it dis-  
 gently. And sonne, I haue kepte it al-  
 way with me; and I beseeche the gods,  
 that such may be thy woorkes, as  
 therein thou maist fynde good counsell.  
 As emperour I leave thee, hies of ma-  
 ny countreys and realmes: and as thy  
 father, I do giue vnto thee this table of  
 counsailes, Let this be the last wordes  
 that with the Emperre thou shalt be  
 feared, and by this table thou shalt be  
 beloved.

¶ This saied, and the table deliuered  
 to his sonne, the Emperour turned his  
 eye, and within a quarter of an houre  
 he yelded the spirite.

AVRELIVS:

**C**ome to retourne to the saide table  
and wytyng. There was wytten be-  
twene the bull and the kyng a scrow in  
greke letters, in maner of heroscall ver-  
les, conteygnyng in our bulgar tongue  
thus. I neuer chose ryche tyraunt, noz  
abhoired the pooze iuste man. I neuer  
denied iustice to a pooze man for his po-  
uertee, noz pardoned a ryche man for  
his great goodes and rycheesse: I neuer  
dyd good dedes, noz neuer gaue hye  
for affection, noz gaue correction onely  
for the peyne: I neuer leste plinesse vn-  
chastised, noz goodnes without reward,  
I neuer comitted an other to do iustice  
that was clere, noz dark iustice I neuer  
determined by my selfe alone, I did ne-  
uer deny iustice to them that demanded  
it, noz mercie vnto him that deserued it:  
I neuer dyd correction for anger, noz  
promised any rewarde in my mythe:  
I was neuer charged with thoughtes  
in my prosperitee, noz dispaired in mine  
aduersities: I neuer committed yll by  
malice, noz any villanie for auaryce:  
I neuer opened my gates to flatterers  
noz dissemblers, noz lyftened myne ea-  
res to murmurers: I haue laboured al-  
waies to be loued of them that be good,

Y lili

and

# MARCVS

And to be dzed and feared of theim that  
be yll: And finally I haue fauoured the  
poore, that might dooe but littell, and  
haue bes fauoured of the goddes that  
maie doe muche.

¶ Hitherto is shewed briefely the wor-  
thie and laudable life of the Emperour  
Marcus Aurelius, and of his death,  
And hereafter ensueth the se-  
cond part of his booke.

¶ A letter sent by Marcus Aurelius to  
Pyramon his speciall friend. Ca. xlii.

¶ The fyrst letter.



¶ The oztaoz Romain  
born at mount Celio,  
to Pyramon of Ly-  
on, my great frende,  
despyrnyng salutation  
to thy personne, and  
strength and vertue  
against thy synister  
fortune. In the thirde kalendes of Janu-  
arie I receiued thy letter, whereby I  
perceiue thou hast receiued one of mine.  
I set small stoz by thy woozdes, but I  
esteem

esteeme greatly what thou meanest by them. So that without declaring thereof, I haue gathered the sentence. Reason would, because I haue wrytten so often to the, that thou shuldest the better vnderstande me: but thou arte so slothfull, that though I call the, thou wylte not here: nor though I strike the, thou wilt not feele. But now to come to the purpose, Thou knowest well Diramon, howe nere we be in parentage, auncient in frendship, stedfast in loue, and tender of hertes, and whan soeuer thou put it in experince, than on true frende shall proue an other. Thou remembreth well, whan we were at Rhodes, that we dwelled together in one house, and did eate at one table, and all that thou thoughtest, I did it in effecte: and that I saide, thou neuer gaine saydest. Certainly thou were in my hert, and I in thy entrayles. I was thyne and thou werest myne. We beyng together, it semed to all other that we were but one, and of one will. What is it my frende Diramon? Thou writest howe thou art beguile, and yet thou dost not shewe the cause why: thou complainest that thou art almoste deade, and thou  
 thewell

# M A R C V S

shewest me not who taketh thy lyfe fro  
 the. If thou wilt not shewe to me thine  
 yll destintes, sith thou art my freende, I  
 will thou knowe, that I demaund it of  
 righte, if thou wilt not, I wyll that  
 thou knowe, that the pitiefull goddes  
 haue determined, that all pleasures and  
 profite shall departe from my house:  
 and that all heauines and domages shall  
 be registred in my personne. Sith I  
 am prince of all honour, in tribulacion,  
 if thou wouldest, thou canste not escape  
 out of my seignorie. For if thou com-  
 playne, that thou arte unhappie in for-  
 tune, than I esteeme my selfe to be hap-  
 pie in unhappinesse. I demaunde one  
 thyng of thes: whan haste thou sene  
 me haue sufficiente, and thou neede?  
 whan hast thou sene me slepe, and thou  
 wake: and whan hast thou trauayled,  
 and I rested: Of treuthe sith the goo-  
 des and personnes are theyr owne pro-  
 prie, the trauayles and yll aduentures  
 are alwaies common. One thyng thou  
 oughtest to knowe, if in mine amiter  
 thou wilt perseuere, that all my goodes  
 are thine, and all thine euyls are mine,  
 sith thou art bozne to lyde easylie, and  
 to be gentellie ordered and intreated,

and

AVRELIVS.

and I doo lyue for to trauayle. I say  
not this saynyngly: for thou haste had  
experience of me, that whan I amaria  
thy syster died, that was no lesse vertu-  
ous than faire, thou sawest wel whan  
she was buried dead, I was buried  
quicke, and at the so tone of my teares,  
thine eyes daunced. Syth thou holdest  
such sureties of my person, surely thou  
maiest discover to me thy payne. yet as  
often as I haue demaunded it, there  
hath not failed reasons sayled in the.  
I require thee, and desire thee agayne,  
and in the name of the goddess I praye  
thee, and in their names I coniure the,  
that thou despoise all thy sorowes into  
mine entrailes. For the way that thou  
goest, I will not leaue one pace to go fro  
the same: if thou go, I wyll go: if thou  
reste, I will reste: if thou worke, I wil  
woorke: if thou leaue of, I wyll dooe  
the same: if thou wilt die, thou knowest  
well I wyll not lyue. Regarde freende  
what thou wilt doe. For thine evils and  
mine, torment bothe one herte. If thou  
haue displeasure, all thynges displease  
me, if thou wepe, I sweere fro henceforth  
neuer to laugh: if thou discharge thee of  
thy payne: fro henceforth I shall take it  
for

# MARCVS

for mine: if thou goe alone, I will for-  
 sake companie, and forthwith liue soli-  
 tarily. What wilt thou that I should  
 desyre. For all that euer thou wilt, I  
 will. Thou complaynest that in all thy  
 trauailes thou canst finde no parent to  
 remedie thee, nor freend to counsel thee.  
 I swere to thee my freende Pyramon,  
 that of these. ii. thinges I haue as much  
 pouertie in my house, as thou hast sorow  
 in thine. I know wel the remedie shuld  
 comit by riches, & by counsell, and con-  
 solacion of them that be wise. And by  
 reason of my heauy destinies, slothe  
 hath taken fro me the knowlege of wis-  
 dome: and fortune will not permit me  
 to haue gret riches. Certaynly I weepe  
 for thy misery, and yet there is but smal  
 remedie tri me. Thou saiest in thy letter  
 that thy neyghbours and frendes in pro-  
 misyng haue behighe the many thing-  
 es: but in geuyng they do nothyng.  
 Hereof I meruaile, for the vertuous  
 hands is not bounde to make the tounge  
 a foole. Truly though our feete daunce  
 our handes should worke at the sowe  
 of the tounge: our life endeth in seio-  
 dates, and our renoume in sewer. It is  
 an auncient custome among the  
 son.

AVRELIVS.

sonnes of banitee, and of custome the  
tonge speaketh hastily, and the handes  
woozke at leisure. Now let vs speake  
moze particularly.

**T**hou oughtest not to complaine, in  
that thou findest not but in a few, that  
dyuers haue founde in thee alone. Cu-  
stome is to receiue forthwith and merci-  
ly, and to giue slowly with yll will and  
repentaunce. They that be presump-  
tuous dooe the one, and they whiche be  
slowthfull, dooe the other, the Greekes  
saie, that he that promiseth and is longe  
in fulfillng, is but a slacke freend. We  
Romains saie, that he is muche better  
that denieth forthwith, because he wyl  
not begile him that asketh. In this case  
I say, He that maye geue and geueth  
not, is a clere ennemie: and he that pro-  
miseth forthwith, and is longer he dooe  
it, is but a suspicious frend. What nede  
woordes to our frendes, whan we may  
succour them with woorkes? Is it not  
right, to whome we giue our heartes,  
which is the best thyng within vs, that  
we geue him our tongue, that is the  
worst thyng of our vices? In good soth  
the goddes will not suffre in the place  
of amitee, to desire any thyng of oure  
freende



freende in hast, and to be driuen of with  
long delaing. Plato in his lawes sai-  
eth, we commaunde, that in our gover-  
nyng, that politike counsaile be geuen  
to them; that be in prosperitie, to the  
intent that they decay not: and to suc-  
cour them that be in heuinesse and trou-  
ble, to the intent that they dispaire not.  
Certainly vnder these wordes are com-  
prised diuers great sentences. Thou  
knowest wel, my freend Diramon, that  
sweete wordes comfort the hert but litell  
that is in tribulaciō, but if there be some  
good workes therewith. I wyll not de-  
nie, but that they, to whom we haue ge-  
uen our good willes in the tyme of our  
prosperitie, be bounde to giue vs of their  
goodes, and to shew vs fauour in our  
aduersite. I demaund one thyng of the,  
wherfore holdest thou a presumptuous  
licence to demaund? And reprocuest on  
the other parte the libertie of denyng.  
Cruely as there is a shame in the de-  
maunding, there is obligacion in some  
thyng to deny: an importunate man is  
not worthy to haue mercie. Thou maist  
know, if thou know it not my freende  
Diramon, that to attein to euery thyng  
that is demanded, belongeth only to the  
gode.

AVRELIVS.

goddis. To geue all thyng that is demaunded, is no signe of any seruāt. And to denye any thyng is of lybertee. To wepe for that is denyed, is the condicion of tyrantes. And to can no thanke for that is geuen, is the condicion of the Barbariens: and to haue euer a stedfast hope of that is denied, is the gypse of the Romaines. One of these thynges, wherein Gaius Caesar shewed him self to be of high courage, was that he had most greattest ioye, whan the Senate refused any thing desired by him. Oftentimes he saied: There is nothing wherein Rome geueth me more glozie and renoume to my person, thā whan I shew my selfe moste hasty to demaunde, and they moste stiffe to denie me: to the intent that after they should know what is my power to abyde, and how littell their strength is to resist. We thynke it is better to haue recours to the goddess with vertues, than to displease the with quarells. And to geue contentacion to thy reposed wyll, whan thou seest thy selfe in tribulacion: and that thou demaundest of the goddess and of men to be frustrate, thou oughtest to measure it with a right measure, and to prayse  
it in

M A R C V S.

it in a right balauunce, the great quantitee that hath been gyven to thee, and the littel quantitee that hath be graunted thee. O howe vncourteise be we to the goddes, and of small remembraunce to men, whan we mynishe with forgetfulnes, that we haue receyued of them: and that lptell that hath bene refused vs, we augment it with complaintes? Frend Pyramon, I am beguiled, if thou be not fiftie yeres of age, and all that season thou hast doone nothyng but receaued gyftes: and yet for all that, I haue not sene the do one daie of seruyce. Certeynely it is no reason to complaine of eight daies of yll fortune, beyng fiftie yeres of age. Thou saiest in thy letter, howe thou haste muche payne, because thou knowest all thy neyghbours to be enuious. In good soth, I haue peine for thy payne, and of thy meruayllinge, I haue great meruayle. For all admiration proceedeth but by surmountynge of ignoraunce, and faulte of experyence. Doth the quicke understandyng of men rule the lyfe of theym that bee mortall, that they neede not to thinke of the trauayle to come, hauynge in their handes halfe remedie? If they be hungry, they  
may

# AVRELIVS.

maile eate: whan thei are cold, thei  
maile warme them: if thei be slepie, thei  
maile sleepe: whan thei be tery, thei  
maile reste: whan they are sicke, they  
maile be healed: whan thei are heuy, thei  
maile reioyce in soche manner, that the  
thoughtfull lyfe passeth, some to make  
tiltes and lystes, some to make armoure  
and scaffoldes, some to inuente netwe  
gynnes, and some to repayre bulwar  
kes. I saie the worlde and the fleshe doe  
nought els, but fyght agaynst vs, and  
we haue neede at all tymes to defende  
vs fro theim. All these remedies are a  
gaynst the trauayle of the fleshe. But  
what shall we do, that the cursednesse of  
enuie extend not among all these? Cur  
sed is that wealthe, that euery man en  
uyeth. Certesquely agaynst enuie is no  
fortresse to defende, no: caue to hyde,  
no: high hill to mounte on, no: thicke  
woobde to shado we in, no: ship to scape  
in, no: horse to beare a waile, no: money  
to redeme vs. Enuie is so venemouse a  
serpent, that there was neuer mortall  
man among mortalles, that could scape  
fro the bityng of hir toothe, and scrat  
chyng of hir nayles, follyng of hir feete,  
and poisonyng of hir popson: I sweare

to the my freende Diramon, that suche  
as fortune listeth vp with great riches,  
thee full of crueltee goneth theim pro-  
founde bytynges. Enuie is so enuious,  
that to theim, that of hir are most de-  
nyed, and set farthest of, she graeth most  
cruell strokes with hir seete. This vn-  
happy enuye prepareth popson secretely  
for theim that be in reste among diuers  
pleasures.

**I** haue redde dyuerse bookes of He-  
brewe, Greke, Latine, and calde. And  
also I haue spoken with many verate  
wise men, to see if there might be found  
any remedy against an enuious man. I  
confesse the trueth: Icade all that can  
be redde, and imagine all that can bee,  
demaunde all that can be demaunded:  
and ye shall fynde none other cure a-  
gainst this curst enuie, but to banysh  
vs fro all prosperitee, and to sitte with  
aduerse fortune. O howe unhappie are  
they that be in prosperitee: for iustly  
they that be sette vp in high estate, can  
not flee from the peryll of Scilla, with-  
out fallynge into Caribdis. They can  
not scape the peryll, without castynge  
their treasures into the sea. I saie that  
the malodie of enuy will not suffice them

# AVRELIVS.

to scape fro death, and the medicine that is applied to them, will not assure their life. I can not determin me, whiche is the beste, or to saie more properly, the worst, extreme miserie without the danger of fortune, or extreme prosperitie, that is alwayes thretned to fal. In this case to be so extreme, I will not determin me, sith in the one is a perill<sup>9</sup> life, and in the other renoume is sure.

¶ I shall tell thee, what wyse Cicero said, whan he was pursued with many at Rome: Beholde you Romayns, I holde you not for so good, nor my selfe so yll, to say the trowth alwaies, nor alwaies to make lies. I am certain, that ye beare me none enuie, for that I am not as ye be, but it is, because ye can not be as I am. In this case I hadde rather that my ennemies had enuie at my prosperitie, than my freendes at my pouertie.

¶ This oratour spake after the appetite of them that be in prosperitie, leaning to geue remedy to them that be sorrowfull. And after this Cicero had seene the fieldes of Farsale, he tooke o<sup>r</sup>ther counsell & remedy, suche as pleased him in Rome. For if Caesar had granted

him his goodes, yet that turned not his credence and renoume. Surely freende Pyramon, I know no remedy to giue thee against enuie, sith thou seest al the worlde ful therof. We se how we be the sonnes of enuy, and we liue with enuy and die with enuy, and he that leaueth most riches, leueth the grettest enui. The auncient wise men counsayled rich me, that they should not haue poore folkes, nere the, and thei admonished the poore that they should not dwell nere to the riche. And truly it is good reason. For the richesse of riche men, is the seede of enuie to the poore. And because the poore man lacketh, and the riche hath to muche, causeth disorde among the people. I sweare by the goddess immortal, frend Pyramon, though they that be yf wold that I should sweare falsely, as muche as richesse with thought nourisheth couetise, so muche the enuious nourisheth enuy therby. I tell thee one thyng, and that is, that it is no good counsell to flee enuie, and to auoide the vertue contrarie the same. Homer saith, that in his time there wer two Greekes extreme in all extremities: The one was extreme in richesse, and therfore he was persecu-  
ted

AVRELIVS:

ted by enuy, and that was Achilles:  
and the other was soze noted of malice,  
but no man had enuy at him, and that  
was Thiestes. Certainly I had leauer  
be Achilles with his enuie, than Thie-  
st; without it. Thou knowest wel, that  
we Romans searche not but for rest in  
our life, and for honour after deth. And  
sith it is so, it is not possible but the mā  
that euery man enuieth his renoume,  
ought to be exalted in the rest of his life.  
And sith I se those two thinges in thee,  
suche as be my freendes taketh littell  
thought, for that thine enemies mour-  
nure against thee. Thou writest to me,  
how they of Lyons do wel, and are me-  
ry: except thy selfe, that art heuy, & full  
of pensiuenesse, and sith they shew not  
to haue plesure at thy displeasure, shew  
not thy selfe displeased with their plea-  
sure. For it may chaunce one day they  
shall be sorowfull, whan that thou arte  
mery: than thou shalt be quite with thē.  
In an euill person there can bee no  
greater yll nor in a good man, a great-  
ter faute, than to be displeased with an  
other mannes wealth, and to take plea-  
sure at an other mannes harme. And in  
case that all doe vs damage with enuie,



# MARCVS

yet much more a freende, than the enemye. For of mine enemy I wyl beware, and for feare he will withdraue: but a freend with his amities may begyle me, and I by my fidelitie shal not perceiue. Amonge all mortall enemies, there is none worse than a freend that is enuious of my felicitie. I praye my freend I will conclude, if thou wylte wythdraue thy selfe fro enemies, than kepe company with thyne owne famylia freendes. I wotte not what to wyte more to thee, but with al my hert I lament thy heuynesse. Thou knowest how thy nece Brutia was slayn with a dagger by hyr owne husband. I had great compassion for hir death, and for the renoume that she lefte behinde hyr. Flauius Priscus thyne vncle is newly made censure. The processe betwene thy brother Porcius and Brutus is determined by the senate, and it pleaseth me right well, that they be freendes, and euery man wel contente. The booke intituled the consolacion of heuynesse, I haue ended, and laied it in the capitoll. I haue written it in greeke, and that is the cause that I sent it not to thee. But I do send thee a riche swerd, and a faire girdell

AVRELIVS.

girdell. Faustine my wife dooeth salute  
the, and sendeth thy wyfe two sclaves,  
The goddes be my keepers, and comfort  
the in thy present heyness. Marke the  
manfortunate, to Piramon soe discom-  
forted.

**A** letter sent by Marcus the emperour  
to Cornelius, of the trauaile of war  
and vanitee of triumph

**T**he second letter.



Marke emperor of Rome  
to the Cornelius my feith-  
full freend, salutation to  
thy person, and good for-  
tune to thy desired lyfe.  
As thou in tyme passed,  
hast ben partner of my tranails, I haue  
sent to call the to gene the pleasure of my  
triumphes. By the abundance of riches,  
diuersities of captiues, fierinesse of capi-  
taines, that we haue brought to Rome,  
thou maiest perceiue, what perilles we  
haue suffered in this warre. The War-  
thes are good men of warre: and as e-  
uery man findeth in their own land de-  
sendeth they houses with strong heart:  
and surely, they dooe lyke good menne.

For without reason, we dye of affection  
 to take other mennes goodes: and they  
 with reason doe labour to defend that is  
 their own. Let no man take enuie at the  
 Romain capitain, for any triumph that  
 is geuen him by his mother Rome. For  
 one date of honour, he is a thousand dai-  
 es in dispayre of his lyfe. I will not  
 speake, that I myght say of them that  
 be in warre, and dwell in Rome, & bene  
 cruel iudges of their own fame. And sith  
 that the propre renoume of a man lyeth  
 in other folkes tonges, it is not said be-  
 cause his person hath merpyted: but be-  
 cause that thei do thew their enuie. But  
 our folishnesse is so folishe, and the re-  
 putacion of men so vayne, that for one  
 vayne woord, moze than for our profyt,  
 we put our lyf in daunger, and lay our  
 honour to gauge with trauayle, rather  
 than to lyue, and to assure our renoume  
 with rest. I swere by the goddes im-  
 mortall, that the date of my triumph  
 beyng in the chariotte, I was as pen-  
 sive as I might be. O Rome, cursed be  
 thy soly, and woe be to him that hath  
 brought vp in the so muche pride. And  
 cursed be he that hath inuented so great  
 pompe in the. What greater or moze  
 vn-

# AVRELIVS.

Inegall lightnesse can bee, than that a  
 Romaine capitaine, because he hath  
 conquered realmes, altered peasibles,  
 destroyed cities, caste downe fortres-  
 ses, robbed the poore, enriched tyraun-  
 tes, shedde muche bloudde, and made  
 infynite wyddowes, should for recom-  
 pence of all these damages, be receyued  
 with great iriumphe: Where hast thou  
 sene a greater folpe: Infynite numbre  
 is destroyed in warre, and one alone shal  
 beare awaie the glorie therof: & though  
 suche miserable conquerours myrtyed  
 not to be buried, yet whan I went tho-  
 rough the stretes of Rome (I tell it as a  
 secrete betweene the and me) that whan  
 the chariot triumphant came, and the  
 unhappy prysoners charged with irons,  
 remembryng the infynyte treasures yll  
 gotten, and hearyng the lamentacions  
 of the wydowes sorrowfull weeping  
 for the death of their husbandes, and  
 calling to minde our manyfolde fren-  
 des dead: though I reioyced me open-  
 lie, I wept droppes of blood secretly.  
 I can not tell what person taketh plea-  
 sure in hym selfe of an other mans da-  
 mage. In this case I praise not the As-  
 syrians, nor I envie not the Persians,  
 nor

# MARCVS

noz am contente with the lacedemoni-  
 ens, noz approue the Caldeens, noz con-  
 tent me with the Greekes. I curse the  
 Troian, and condempne them of Car-  
 thage, because they folowed not the iele  
 of Iustyce, but what they dyd in theyr  
 tyme was with rage of pryde, whereby  
 they and their realmes wer brought in-  
 to sclauder, and was occasion to lesse  
 vs. Oh cursed Rome, cursed thou hast  
 bene, and cursed thou shalt be. For yf  
 the fatall destenies deceiue me not, and  
 mine vnderstandyng fayle me not, and  
 that fortune holde not fast, we shall see  
 in tyme to come, Rome shall be in lyke  
 case, as other realmes bee now in our  
 dates. And where as now with tyran-  
 nie thou art ladie ouer all seignories, it  
 shall come by Iustice, that thou shalt  
 tourne to be bonde to theim, that are  
 now vnder thy bondage. Oh yll fortun-  
 ate Rome: I saie it because that ver-  
 tue is so deere in thee, and makest soly  
 so great cheape. Peraduenture thou  
 art more autentpyke then Babilon, say-  
 rer than Bely, rycher than Carthage,  
 stronger than Troie, better peopled  
 than Thebes, more floored with ship-  
 pes than Corynthe, moze delicious than  
 Thyre,

# AVRELIVS.

Theye, more inerpugnable than Aquil-  
 le, more happy than Humancie: we se  
 how they all perished, for all they: ver-  
 tues and valiaunt defenders, and thou  
 hopest to abide perpetually, stored with  
 them that be vicious, and peopled with  
 such as be full of vice. O Rome, marks  
 this for certayne, that the glorie that  
 thou hast at this houre, was first theyrs  
 and this destruction that now is theirs  
 here after shall be thine. My dere freend  
 Cornelius, shall I shew thee, the losse  
 of the Romayne people, but I can not  
 tell it thee without weepynge: I the  
 Emperour of Rome commaunde, I  
 make decrees for the warre: if any coun-  
 trey aryse, by blowing of a trumpet,  
 to make men to reyse theyr banners,  
 and to create new capitaynes. And it  
 is a thyng very euident, to see, that  
 when they reyse theyr standerdes, and  
 haue leaue to make and assaile enemi-  
 es, children leaue their mothers, stu-  
 dents leaue their schooles, seruantes for-  
 sake their maisters, and officers, theyr  
 offices, to the intent that vnder the colour  
 and craft of goyng to warre, they shuld  
 not be chastised by Justice. They haue  
 no feare of the goddes, nor reuerence to  
 the

# MARCVS

the temples, noz obedience to their fa-  
thers, noz loue noz a we of the people,  
and loue to liue ydelly, and hate iuste  
labour, and their exercises are doma-  
geable. Some doo robbe the churches  
some make quarelles and strifes, and  
some breake gates open, and beare the  
goodes away. Sometime they take  
them that be at libertie, and deliuer  
them that should bee prisoners. They  
passe the nightes in playes, and the  
daies in blasphemies: Finally they are  
vnfit to do well: and are wholly dispo-  
sed to do yll. What shall I say of theyr  
negligence? I am ashamed to write it.  
They leaue their owne wiues, and take  
other mens. They dishonour the dought-  
ters of honest men, and begyle younge  
maidens. They enforze theyr hostesses,  
and neighbours wyues: and woorks of  
all, the women that do go with them,  
set them agog that do tary. And so in  
this maner none of these women that  
so go, scapeth without losse of honour,  
and the other are striken with vices in  
their bertes, because they tary. Thinks  
surely Cornelius, that the enterprises  
are small, where as women doo go to  
warre. Thou knowest, that the women

Amia.

AVRELIVS.

Antayons haue made greater warre  
in Grece, than the cruell ennemies, and  
not for because they had not men ynow,  
but because there wer so many women.  
Pyrrhus was overcome by Alexander.  
The valiaunte capitayne Hannibal  
was lord of Italy, as long as he suffer  
red no women to come in his warres.  
And when he was enamoured of a faire  
yonge damsell of Capue, he was fayne  
forthwith to tourne his backe to Rome,  
because Rome clenched the feeld from le  
cherie. For the same cause Rumancie  
was caste to the earth. And I my selfe  
haue seen in the warre of Parthes, se  
uenteene thousande horsemen, four  
score thousande foote men, and foure  
and thyrtye thousande women. And  
our busynesse wente so, that fro oure  
hoste I sent away Faulstyne my wyfe,  
and so did other senatours their wiues  
home to theyr houses, to the intent that  
they should serue them that were olde,  
and byrnyng by their children. That daye  
that a patrician is approued by the Se  
nate, and ledde aboute Rome by the  
Consules, the Eggle is hanged at his  
breste, and his raiment is redde, and  
he after ryseth in suche pryde, that he  
remem



M A R C V S.

remembresth not the pouertie of the tyme  
 passed, but thynketh to be Emperour  
 of Rome forthwith. Beholde than  
 what they do. They waieth their berdes,  
 and ruffle theyr heares, boystous their  
 wordes, they chaunge their clothes, and  
 roull their eyen, that they may seme the  
 fiercer. And finally they loue to be fea-  
 red, and hate to be loued. And wottest  
 thou not that they will be feared? On  
 a day beyng at Wentapolyn, I hearde a  
 capytayne of mine, not seyng me, sweare  
 and blaspheme, sayng to a woman his  
 hostesse: ye villainous people, will not  
 know the capytaynes of warre: I wyll  
 thou knowest mother, that the erth ne-  
 uer trembleth, but whan it is thret of a  
 capytayne. Somayne: and God neuer  
 causeth his sonne to shyne, but where  
 as wee be obeyed. But now freende  
 Cornelius, sithe I hane blasoned hys  
 baunt, harken his vertue and woorthi-  
 nesse. I sweare to thee, that the saied ca-  
 pitaine, for all his bolle, beyng in a cru-  
 ell battayle, was the firste that fled a-  
 lone fro the battayle, and left the stan-  
 derd: wherin he did inoughe, to cause  
 me to lose the feelde. But whan it was  
 doen, I caused to strike of his head. It is

# A V R E L I V S .

an infallible rule, that they that shewe  
 them selfe moste fierse, in effect ar most  
 cowardes. In diuers bookes I haue  
 redde, and of dyuers I haue herde, and  
 in many I haue sene, that it can not fail  
 in a man that can suffre and take paci-  
 ence, to haue vertue and force: And it is  
 meruayle that he is strong and balliant,  
 that can not suffre. What shall I saie  
 moze of the griefes and domages, that  
 these menne of warre dooe, in passynge  
 thorough realmes, and of thestes and  
 robberies, that they commit in the hou-  
 ses, where as they lodge: I ensure the,  
 the woym in the tymbze, noz the mothes  
 in the cloathes, noz the sparkle in the  
 towe, noz the barnel amög the corn, noz  
 the wesell among the grain, noz the ca-  
 terpillles in fruite trees, doth not so mu-  
 che damage, as one compaignie of men  
 of warre dooeth hurte the pooze people.  
 They leaue no cattayle vnslain, no gar-  
 designe vnrobbed, no wylde beaste vn-  
 chaled, noz no mayde vndefloured, and  
 per whiche is woyle, they eate without  
 payment, and they will not serue with-  
 out paiement, noz no man can conuerso  
 and endure among them. Whan they  
 are paid, by and by they plaie it away:  
 it

If they bee not payed, they robbe, and  
 grudge: and the case is come to so great  
 corrupcion, that if thou sawest it, thou  
 woldest saie, that eche of theim were  
 the head of rumour, and the beginning  
 of stryfe, payson to vertues, wyrate  
 of rouers, and capytaine of all wret-  
 ched theues. I say not this without  
 weppng. It is the greattest mockyng  
 of all mockeries: and the cause gooeth  
 to suche losse and pardicion, that these  
 mischietous people are our homely and  
 familiare enemies: and yet there is no  
 Emperour, that can haue lordshippe o-  
 uer them, noz iustice chastise theim, noz  
 feare withdraue theim, noz laue sub-  
 due them, noz shame refraine them, noz  
 death that can kyll theim, for they bee  
 men remediless: They ouer renne, and  
 dyspople every man. O howe sorowful  
 I am for the Rome, that was not wont  
 to haue in the suche yladuentures. Cer-  
 tainlye, in the auncient tyme whan thou  
 were peopled with right and true Ro-  
 mains, and not as thou art now, with  
 bastarde chyl dren, than the armies that  
 wente fro Rome, were as well discipli-  
 ned and morigerate, as the schooles of  
 the philosophers, that were in Grece.

The

# AVRELIVS.

The old auncient histories witness, that  
 kyng Philippe of Macedonie, and his  
 sonne Alexander, were happy in warre  
 because they kepte their armies so well  
 ordered, that it seemeth better, to be a  
 Senate ruled, than an armie that would  
 fight. If were to thee by mine honestee,  
 that fro the time of Quintus Cincina-  
 tus, vnto the noble Marcus Marcel-  
 lus (in the whiche time was the great-  
 test prosperitee of Rome) the common  
 people had great glorie, as long as the  
 discipline of knyghthoode was well  
 corrected: and we began to lose, when  
 our capitaynes began to deserue to bee  
 depraued and condeimned. Oh cursed  
 be thou Asie, and cursed be the day, that  
 we had conquest of thee. The goodnesse  
 that hath folowed thereby, we see it at  
 our eye: and the damage that is come by  
 thee, shall alwaies be sorowd. In thee  
 wee haue wasted our treasures, and  
 thou hast filled vs with thy vices. In  
 chaunge of stronge and vertuous men,  
 thou hast sent thy wantons to vs: Wee  
 haue overcome thy cities, and thou tri-  
 umphest of our vertues: we haue bea-  
 ten downe thy fortresses, and thou hast  
 destroyed our good customes: by force  
 As thou

# M A R C V S

thou arte become ours, and with our  
good wylls, we are now thine. Un-  
iustly we are lordes of thy realmes, and  
we are iuste subiectes to thy vices. Fi-  
nally, thou Asie shalt be the Sepulchre  
of Rome, and thou Rome shalt be the  
sinke and gutter of the filthinesse of A-  
sie. Certaignely Rome ought to haue  
ben content with the landes of Italy,  
whiche is the nauill of the worlde, with-  
out conqueriing the landes of Asie, to be-  
reue them from other. I like well thin-  
ges that I haue redde of my pzedeces-  
sours, sayiunge that they were proude,  
as we their successors be to hardie.  
And I sweare vnto thee, that yet perad-  
venture, after the pain, we shall become  
bertuous and good. All the richesse and  
triumphes, that our forefathers haue  
brought out of Asie, the goodes and the  
richesse, and they also, with the time at  
laste had an ende: but the wantonnesse  
and vices, that are in vs their children,  
doeth remaigne still vnto this day. I  
woulde to god, that the princes knew  
what an outrageous thing it is, to in-  
uent warres in strange landes & coun-  
treies, and what trauaile they searche  
in their personnes, and what thoughtes

# AVRELIVS.

In their myndes, and what mourmure  
and motion in their subiects, what end  
and wastynge of their richesse and trea-  
sures. What pouertie to their friendes  
what pleasure to their enemies, what  
domage to their native countreys, and  
what popson they leaue to their own in-  
heritours: I sweare to thee, that if I  
had knowen, that I do knowe (I wyl  
not say, but by bludshed they be taken)  
if they had offered them selfe with good  
will, and sheadyng of teares, I would  
not haue taken theym. The trouth is,  
that our capitaines neuer slew twen-  
tie thousande menne of Asie, with their  
armure that they bare out of Italy, but  
they losse mo than a hundred thousand  
Romaynes, with the vices that they  
brought to Rome: As eatynge openly  
in the palates Ausonios, suppyng in  
their houses secretely the women to  
clothe them as men, and the men pei-  
nted as women. The Patriciens bea-  
ryng Measques, the Plebetians vsyng  
smelles, and the Emperours to weare  
purple. These seuen vices of Asie, Asie  
sent for a present to Rome. Seuen noble  
captaynes brought them. I leaue to  
Ihem their names, lest I should shame  
A ii them

them with their faultes, ſith they were  
 ſo noble menne by theyr hygh deedes.  
 Nowe ye princes, beholde what pro-  
 fit it is, to take ſtraunge realmes with  
 our warres. I leue the vices, that they  
 recouer, and the vertues that they leſe,  
 with the perdition of their treaſure  
 that they loue. For certayne there is  
 neyther kynge nor realme brought to  
 extreme ponertie, but by warring a  
 ſtraunge realme with ſmall and extreme  
 conqueſt. I demaund of the mine owne  
 freend Cornelius, what cauſeth princes  
 to leſe their treaſure, and require them  
 of other? Whan their owne can not  
 ſuffice, than they take fro churches,  
 ſerche diuers lones, reple tributies, and  
 inuente new ſubſidies, giue and ſpende  
 on ſtraungers, and make him ſelfe ha-  
 ted of his owne, pray every man, and  
 haue nede of every man: aduenture his  
 perſone, and aduenture his renoume?  
 If thou kneweſt not this, I will tell  
 thee, if thou wylte heare me. Theſe  
 princes counſayle with men, they liue  
 with men, and finally at the laſte they  
 are men. At one time by pride, that ſur-  
 mounteth them, an other time by coun-  
 ſell, that faileth them, ſome imagining  
 by

# AVRELIVS.

by theyr fantasies, some sayng, that if  
 he haue greate gooddes, he ought to en-  
 crease his fame, and that no memory  
 should be of him, if he inuented no war,  
 and that the Emperoure of Rome by  
 right, is lord of all the earth. And in this  
 maner, as his fortune is base, and his  
 thoughtes high, the goddes suffre, that  
 whē he thinketh lustly to win an other  
 mans, than lustly he loseth his owne. O  
 Princes, I can not tell what begyleth  
 you. For where as ye may be riche with  
 pleasure, ye wyll be poore with warre,  
 where as ye may be beloued, ye will be  
 hated: where as ye may play and sporte  
 your selfe, and rest in a sure life, ye wyl  
 commit your selfe to the chaunces of for-  
 tune: and wher as other haue necessitie  
 of you, ye put your selfe to be in the ne-  
 cessitie of other. And though the prince  
 make no warre, he should not suffer his  
 people to warre. Euery man oughte to  
 leue his war. Frende Cornelius, I de-  
 mand of thee, whether is more trauaile  
 to his person, or domage to his realme,  
 a kynges enemies, or els his owne ar-  
 mie: His enemies robbe on the costes,  
 but our men robbe al the lande. The en-  
 emies may be resisted, but we dare not



# MARCVS

speake to our own menne. The enemies  
 invade vs on one date, and recule backe  
 again, but our garisons rob dayly, and  
 abide still. The strangers haue some feare  
 but ours are shamelesse, and at the last,  
 the farther that our enemies go the more  
 they ware liberall, and our armies of  
 men, euery day increase in crueltie, in  
 suche wise, that they offende the goddes  
 and be importunate to theyr Princes,  
 and noyfull to the people, liuynge to  
 the domage of euery manns, and be vn-  
 profitable to all men. By the god Mars  
 I sweare to thee, and as I may be hol-  
 pen in the warres, that I gouern with  
 my hande, I haue mo complaintes day-  
 ly from the Senate on the capitaynes  
 that been in Illirike, than on all the  
 enemies of the Romaynes people:  
 I haue more feare in mainteinyng one  
 standerde of a hundred menne, than to  
 geue battayle to fiftie thousand enem-  
 ies. For the Goddes and Fortune dys-  
 patche a battail in an howre, be it good  
 or badde; but with these other, I can  
 do nothyng in all my lyfe. Thus it hath  
 ben my freend Cornelius, and thus it is  
 and thus it shal be. Thus I sounde it,  
 thus I holde it, and thus I shall leaue  
 it.

it. Our fathers did inuent it, and we sus-  
 teigne it, that be their childzen, and for  
 yll it shall abide to our heyres. I saye  
 to thee one thyng, and I thinke I am  
 not deceiued therein. To endure so  
 greate domage, and to no profit of the  
 people, I thynke it a great foly in man  
 or elles a greate punishmente of the  
 Goddes. Be the goddes so iuste in all  
 Justice, and so true in all veritee, that  
 they wyl suffre vs without reason, to  
 doe yll in straunge landes, to whom we  
 dyd neuer good, and in our owne  
 houses, to haue shewde tourmes of  
 them, to whom we haue alwaye doen  
 good: These thynges freende Corneli-  
 us, I haue witten to thee, not because  
 I thinke it needefull, that thou shouldest  
 knowe it, but my spirite resteth in  
 shewyng of it. Danutius my secretary  
 wente to visite this lande, and one the  
 way I gaue him this letter, and I doo  
 send to thee two horses, I thynke they  
 be good. The armour and iewels, that I  
 won on the Parthes, I haue departed  
 them. Now be it I send thee a chariot of  
 them. My wife Faustina saluteth thee, &  
 sendeth to thi wife a riche glasse, and an  
 ouche of precio<sup>s</sup> stones to thy daughter.

# MARCVS

I beseeche the goddes, to giue thee good  
life, and me a good deathe. Marcus thy  
louer, writeth to the Corneli<sup>o</sup> his frende.

**C**To Torcate beyng at Caiette, in  
consolation of his banishment.

**T**he thynde letter.

**M**arcus of mount Celso, compani-  
on of the empire, to the Torcate,  
beyng at Caiette, patrician Ro-  
maine, salute to thy person, and vertus  
and force agaynst aduerse fortune. It is  
a three moneths sith I receiued thy let-  
ter, the whiche mine eyes might not  
make an ende to rede, nor my handes to  
answer, I am so heauy for thy hea-  
uinesse, so peinesfull for thy peine, and  
so hurte with thy wounde, that where  
as thou weepst with thine eyes out-  
wardlie, I weepe with my hearte in-  
wardlie. I wote what difference is be-  
twene the tree and the croppes, and the  
dreame fro the trowth: I here of thy tra-  
uailes by straunge persons, and I feele  
the in mine owne person. But wher as  
true frends be, the peines ar in comon.  
The great in fortunes ought to be suffe-  
red

AVRELIVS.

red for one thyng, because they declare  
 who are the true freendes, I know by  
 thy letter, how thou art banished from  
 home, and all thy gooddes confiscate,  
 and that for pure heauinesse thou arte  
 sicke in the body. I would goe see thee:  
 and counsayle thy person, because that  
 thou mightest se, with what herte and  
 will I do wepe for thy misadventure.  
 But if thou take me for thy true friend,  
 beleue me, as I beleue thee, that is how  
 muche I feele thy misadventure. Of  
 trouth, as thou arte banished bodyly,  
 so am I banished inwardely in my  
 herte. And if thy gooddes or substaunce,  
 be taken away from thee, I am robbed  
 of a good freende and companion. And  
 if thou lackest thy freendes, I am aby-  
 dyng amonge myne enemies. Though  
 I might remedie by woorkynge of my  
 power, thy banishment: yet I wyll  
 counsell thy spirite with certeine wo-  
 des. If I be not forgetfull, I neuer  
 sawe thee contente in this life: because  
 thou were euer buisie in thy prosperi-  
 tee, and wearie of any aduersitee. And  
 as nowe, I see thee dispaire, as though  
 thou wer but new com into this world.  
 I haue knowen thee this. xxxii. yeres in  
 great

# M A R C V S

great loye: and now thou complainest  
of sixe monethes, that fortune hath tur-  
ned hir wheele. O Torcate, now thou  
maiest know, that vertuous men feare  
more two daies of prosperitie, then two  
hundred of aduers fortune. O how ma-  
ny menne, and how many riche cities  
haue thou and I scene, slippe fro theyr  
prosperities, through their vicious ly-  
uynge and straunge enemies: In such  
wyse, that their bayne glorie and slip-  
per prosperitee, endured but two daies:  
and the hurtes and losse that they haue  
had, and the cruell and extreme enmi-  
ties, the whiche also that they haue  
wonne, lasteth to this day in theyr he-  
res. Contrary wyse, we see some set in  
the height of tribulations, the whiche  
haue escaped by castynge away vyces,  
clothyng them with vertues, weary of  
euill workes, folowynge goodnesse, be-  
yng freendes to al, and enemies to non.  
What wilt thou that I shuld say more?  
They that are happy, are overcome in  
peace, and they that are unhappie, dooe  
overcome other in warre. Therefore  
my freende Torcate, it seemeth to mee,  
no lesse necessitie, to geue good coun-  
sayle, than to prospeere with greatte  
prosper

# AVRELIVS.

prosperitie, to remedie them that are in  
 greate heuinesse. For as wery are they,  
 that goe the playne waye, as they that  
 coasteth the high mountaignes. By thy  
 letter I perceiue, that what tyme thou  
 hopedst to haue been in most quietnesse  
 and rest, this yll fortune and chaunce  
 fell on the. Be not abashed therof. For  
 though that all new chaunces causeth  
 new thoughtes presently, yet thereby  
 cometh more cause of stedfastnesse in  
 tyme to come. Certaynly the tree bea-  
 reth not so much fruit, there as it sprin-  
 geth first, as it doth, whan it is new set  
 in an other place. And all good smelles  
 are more odoriferous, if they be well  
 medled and chaufed together. I praise  
 thee tel me, abidyng in the world, being  
 a child of the same, & louyng the world,  
 what hopest thou to haue of the worlde,  
 but worldly thynges? the worlde shall  
 alwaies be the worlde. At this howe  
 thou art worldly, and shalt be worlde-  
 ly, and shalt be intreated as the worlde  
 is accustomed to intreate them that be  
 worldly. If thou knewest thy selfe and  
 thy weakenesse, if thou knewest fortune  
 and hir mutacion, if thou knewest the  
 men & their malices, if thou knewest the  
 world,

# MARCVS

worlde, and the flatterynge therof, thou  
 wouldest reise thee fro the hande therof  
 with honour, and not be chastised with  
 infamie. O how we hope to speade by  
 fortune: O how often without respecte  
 vnwares we passe this life: O how of-  
 ten we trust the bobance of this worlde:  
 and we trust therein as much as though  
 it neuer beguiled man. I say it not be-  
 cause I haue heard it sayde, noz because  
 I haue redde it in bookes: but for we se  
 it daily with our eyes, some decaille and  
 lese their gooddes, other fall and loose  
 theyr credence, some fall in sight, and  
 loose their honour, and other arise and  
 loose their liues, and some thinke that  
 all are free by p̄sullledge, where as ne-  
 uer none were p̄sullledged. O my frend  
 Torcate, of one thyng I am certayne,  
 and lette euery man take it for a war-  
 nyng: Men, by whome we be bozne, be  
 of so p̄ll disposition, and the worlde so  
 fierse and cruell, with whome we lyue,  
 and the glydyng serpent fortune so full  
 of popson, that they hurt vs with their  
 feete, and bite vs with their teethe, and  
 scratche vs with their nayles, and swel-  
 le vs with their popson, so that the pas-  
 syng of the lyfe is no lesse than takynge  
 of

AVRELIVS.

of death . And in case thou haſte ſeen  
ſome liue longe without any fall of for-  
tune , thinke not it is well, for it is not  
by good aduenture , but the more his pl  
fortune . The worlde is ſo malicious,  
that if we take not heede to prepare as  
gaynſt his wrinches, it wyl ouerthrow  
vs to our greater loſſe and hurte. And  
che ſooner die they that ben healthfull,  
with the infirmities and ſickneſſe of  
fewe daies, than they that be weake,  
with their langour of many yeares. I  
ſay this, becauſe I holde it for moſt ſu-  
ertie, that the miſerable man, that may  
not liue without miſeries , ſhould feele  
the peynes by littell and littell, and not  
all at once . We eate diuers thynges by  
morſels, which if we ſhould eat wholl,  
woulde choke vs . In likewyſe by dy-  
uers daies, we ſuffre diuers trauailes,  
whiche all together woulde make an  
ende of vs in one daie . And than ſythe  
the goddes wil permitte , that thy miſ-  
fortune ſhall fall, and that the riuer of  
thy decay ouerflow hir chanell , and  
wher thou weneſt to be moſt ſure, thou  
ſhalt be in greateſt perill, we ſhall mi-  
niſter to thee a ſpyope, to the intent that  
thou looſe thy good renoume, thoughte  
thou



# M A R C V S.

thou haue losse thy gooddes that bee  
nought. Tell me I pray thee Torcate,  
why complaynest thou, as he that is  
sicke? why criest thou lyke a soole? why  
sigest thou as a desperate man? Why  
weepest thou as a chylde? Thou hast  
goen an yll way, and complaynest of  
thy reste. Thou arte cloathed to goe  
thorough bushes, and thou sayest, that  
thy gownes do teare. Thou walkest  
among the stones, and art sorry because  
thou fallest. Thou haste leaned, and  
thoughtest not to fall, and finally thou  
art set with the worlde, and thinkest to  
be free with heauen. Wylt thou haue  
sauferconduite of Fortune, that is ene-  
mie to many? She can not geue the na-  
turallitte, which is mother to all thyng-  
ges. I wyl aske thee one thyng: I put  
case the sea had promised thee, to be  
alway in suertie of hie, and the skie  
clere wether, the sommer snowes, and  
the wynter flowers. It wyl not be of a  
suretie Torcate. If nature can not ful-  
fill this beyng thine owne mother, thin-  
kest thou than, that Fortune will giue  
it thee, which is thy vniust stepmother?  
Kepe this rule for certeygne, and neuer  
forget it, that all naturall courses are  
(sub)

# AVRELIVS.

subiectes to mutacion every yere. And  
all worldlie folke that trust on fortune,  
shall suffre eclips every momente. And  
than suche naturall thinges cannot be  
alwayes in one case. Of necessitee the  
goodes of fortune muste perishe, sithe  
they be superfluites. Wight vnjust shold  
the rightwyle goddes be, if they had  
made perpetuall that, whiche is doma-  
geable to so many: Or that whiche is  
profitable, to haue created it fallible.

I wyl speake no more of thy prosperi-  
tee in tymes past, but now I wil come  
to the banishment that thou sufferest  
presently. Suspicious fortune made  
a sayer at the gate, knowyng what she  
solde: and thou wylste not what thou  
boughtest: She made a deere bar-  
gaine, and solde it deere to thee, she hath  
giuen thee sower for sweete, and the  
sweete is tourned into soweruesse for  
thee: She hath giuen thee euil for good,  
and hath tourned thy good to yll. And  
finallie, she hath beguiled thee at a iust  
price, not wening to thee that she wold  
haue dooen thee damage: and though  
that she was maliciouse in sellynge to  
the, thou wer no lesse folish in the buyng  
therof: for the more there is in fortune  
nes

M A R C V S.

nes shoppe, the more suspect is the mar-  
chaundise. O how unhappy be we, for  
in that market is nothyng sold but lies,  
And she trusteth nothyng but vpon the  
pledges of our renoume: and at last wil  
not be paid, but with the shot of our  
lyfe, and that is the most greatest and  
miscellaneous wounde. It is as openlie  
known to euery man as to thee, that  
where as they thynke not to lesse their  
wares, false fortune in that they pur-  
pose, to their mishappe lieth in awaite,  
and is redie to bte them. Thou makest  
me very sore abashed Torcate. I haue  
reputed thee right wise and vertuous,  
now I take thee for a lost foole. In good  
soothe whan I saw thee young in Ga-  
sette, I iudged thee worthy to gouerne  
Rome: and nowe that thou arte olde,  
thou deseruest nothyng, but to be cast in  
a galey as a slaue. O how many thyn-  
ges are there to know a man by: There  
is not so highe a toppe of a hyll, but it  
is troden with feete: nor so deepe a sea,  
but it is sounded with leade. And in a  
hundred yeres one man can not attayn  
to know an other mans herte. Tell me  
I pray thee, what lookedste thou for of  
fortune, after so great welth: Lpyng  
10

AVRELIVS.

to the worlde, thinke to be in the worlde:  
The childezen of vanitee goe and walke  
so longe, that at laste their disordinate  
desyre can not take fro the worlde their  
antike villanies and shamefullnesse, the  
whiche Fortune dooeth not with them  
that she hath repyled vnto the skies, thin-  
kest than, that she shall bowe with thee  
to the lowest parties: O foole Torcate,  
thoughtest thou to passe the Sea with-  
out peryll, to eate fleshe without bones,  
to drynke wyne without lies, to walke  
in the wales without syndyng stoanes,  
to bye wheat without chaffe: In good  
sooth, if thou thoughtest to bye yll goo-  
des, without hinderance of thy good  
same, and so to mainteine thy good re-  
nounge, without losse of yll gotten goo-  
des. I would witte of the, what thou  
diddest hope to dooe, sith to longe sea-  
son, thou hast made a face in the worlde.  
rrrii. yere thou hast bene in the grace  
of the worlde, now it is tyme fro hens  
sooth to fall at some discord therewith,  
Abell the kyng of Assiriens, hoped to  
haue but seven yeres of good prosperi-  
ter: Queene Semiramis but onely sixe,  
Abell kyng of the Lacedemoniens fyue,  
Eutrete, kyng of the Caldiens sowre,

M A R C V S

Alexander kynge of the Grekes. iii. A  
militar the great of Cartage but twoo,  
and our Caius Cesar Romain but one  
onely, and many befoze, and sith not  
one yere: and sith thou wer the most vn-  
known of linage, the grossest of vn-  
derstandyng, and the least of power, the  
darkest of fame, and the molste weake  
in merites: wherfoze than complaynest  
thou on fortune? If thou haddest been  
vertuouse in all these. xxx. yeres, thou  
haddest neuer eaten without thought,  
nor neuer spoken without suspicion,  
nor slept without stertyng, thynkyng  
what thou haddest to doe, and wherin  
fortune might beguile thee. He that is  
so long besette about with so many en-  
emies, I can not tell how he shoulde  
take any sure slepe. Ah Torcate Tor-  
cate, the worlde hath so many falles,  
and we know so yll how to continue  
among them, that be worldly, that scāt-  
ly we are fallen, whan our handes and  
feete like slaues be so fast tied, that we  
can not lose them. It filleth our perso-  
nes full of vices, strengtheth our sine-  
wes to wickednes, weaketh our hertes  
in vertues, and finally rendreth our spi-  
rites in a traunce, and maseh our vn-  
der

AVRELIVS.

bestandynge, and chaungeth our tast,  
and suffreth vs as beastes, to thewe  
our euilles that we feele with waylyn-  
ges, all though as men we durst not  
theto it. And that this is true: it appe-  
reth, than whan we see, that we lose,  
we lament and complayne: and none  
can helpe him selfe. This small lesson  
I wryte to thee, to the ende thou shuldest  
liue in lesse thought. The hoxse colte  
that thou diddest sende me, leapeth very  
well: The spaniell that thou senst to  
me, is well, but he is wilde: The calfe  
was very fatte, and I woulde haue  
eaten it soozthwith, but my wife Fau-  
stine busily praied me to keepe it, and  
thynketh that it was stollen in a gar-  
deine. I sende to thee. ii. M. sexters for  
to succour thee in thy trauayles. And as  
touchynge thy banishment, at time con-  
uenient, I shal dispatche my mattiers  
with the senate. The consolacion of the  
goddess, and the loue of man be with the  
Dorcate. The sodeinnesse of euils, and  
the pre of the furies be separate fro me  
Marcus Aurelius. Faustine my wyfe  
greeteth thee: and in lyke wyse fro hyz  
part and ours, to thy mother in law,  
and thy wyfe haue vs recomended.

Wb ii

Marc

M A R C V S  
Marc of Rome sendeth this wrytyng to  
Forcate of Baiette.

A letter sent to Domitius of Capue, to  
comfort him in his banishment.

The fourth letter.

**M**Arke orator Romaine, borne on  
mount Celio, to the Domitian of  
Capue, salute and consolacion of  
the goddes consolatours. In this righte  
colde winter, there arose in this lande a  
mighty great wynde, and by reason of  
the great wynde, arose great quantitie  
of waters, and the waters haue caused  
great humidities, and greates humidities,  
breede diuers maladies and diseases:  
And amonge all the infirmities  
of this lande, I haue the goutte in my  
hande, and the sciatica in my legge. For  
the health of my wife Faustine, I can  
neither goe nor wryte, I say it because  
I can not wryte to thee so longe as the  
cause woulde require, and as thy thankes  
meriteth, and my desire coueteth.  
It is shewed me, that by occasion of a  
horse, thou hast had strife with Patricio  
thy neighbour, and that thou art banished.

AVRELIVS.

thed from Capue, and set in the prison  
 Mamartine. Thy goodes ar confisked,  
 and thy chyldren banished, thy house  
 caste downe, and thy nephewe is put  
 out of the Senate, and banished the Se-  
 nate for tenne yerres. It is tolde me,  
 that all the day thou weepest, and wa-  
 kest by night: in compaignie thou diest,  
 and dooest loue to rest solitaryly: Thou  
 hatest pleasure, and louest pensue-  
 nesse. And I haue no meruayle: for  
 the sorrowfull hartes lyue with teares  
 and weepynge, and be mery and laughe  
 in dyngge. I am right sozie to se thee  
 loske: but muche more that for so small  
 a thyng thou shouldest be cast away, as  
 for a horse, to leese all thynne estate. O  
 how variable is fortune, and how sone  
 a misaduenture falleth befoze our eyes:  
 Fortune giueth these euils, and wee see  
 it not, with hir handes she toucheth vs,  
 and we feele it not: she treadeth vs vn-  
 der hir seete: and we know it not: she  
 speaketh in our eares, and we heare  
 hir not, she crieth aloud vnto vs, and  
 we vnderstande hir not, and this is,  
 because we wyl not know hir: And fi-  
 nally, whan we thynke we are mooste  
 surest, than are wee in mooste perill.



# MARCVS

Trough it is, that with a littell wynde,  
 the fruite falleth fro the tree: and with  
 a littell sparckle, the house is set a fyze:  
 a small rocke breaketh a great shyppe:  
 and with a littell stone, the legge is  
 hurte. I say that often tymes of that  
 we feare not, cometh greate perill.  
 In a close fistula, rather than in an o-  
 pen, the surgions doubt the peryll.  
 In deepe still waters, the pylote sea-  
 reth moze than in the greate hie wa-  
 ues: Of secrete embusshement, rather  
 than of open armies, the warrour  
 doubteth. I wyll not only say of stran-  
 gers, but of his owne propze, not of en-  
 emies, but of freendes, not of cruell  
 warre, but of peace, not of open do-  
 mage oz sclaunder, but of secrete pe-  
 ryll, and mischiese, a wise man ought  
 to beware. How many haue we seene,  
 that the chaunces of fortune coulde not  
 abate, and yet within a shorte whyle  
 after vniwarenesse with greate igno-  
 minious shame hath ouerthrowen the:  
 I would witte of thee, what rest can a  
 person haue, that trusteth euer vppon  
 the prosperitie of fortune, sythe so  
 lyght a cause we haue seene so greate a  
 strife in Rome, and suche a losse to thy  
 house:

house : Seynge that I see , I will not  
 feare the wyndes of hir trauayles , noz  
 beleue in the clerenesse of hir pleasures,  
 noz hir thunders shall not feare me, noz  
 will truste vpon hir flatterynge, noz  
 thanke hir for that she leaueth with  
 me , noz be sorpy for that she taketh fro  
 me , noz wake for any trouthe that she  
 saith to me , noz rise for any of hir leas-  
 synges , noz laugh for any thyng that  
 she desireth of me, noz weepe for geuing  
 me leaue . If thou knowest not the  
 cause of this , I shall tell thee . Our life  
 is so doubtfull , and fortune so way-  
 ward, that she doeth not alway threate  
 in strikynge, noz striketh in threating.  
 The wyse manne goeth not so tempe-  
 rately, that he thinketh at euery steppe  
 to fal, noz lye with so small a thought,  
 to thinke to ouerthrow in euery playne  
 pathe . For oftentymes false Fortune  
 shaketh hir weapon , and striketh not ,  
 and an other tyme , striketh with-  
 out shakynge . Beleue me of one thyng  
 Domitius : That parte of the lyfe  
 is in moste perill , whan with littell  
 thought or care, menne thynke theym-  
 selve most sure . Wilt thou see the trouth  
 thereof : Call to thy mynde Hercules ,

# MARCVS

that scaped from many perils by sea and by lande, and yet died betwene his lemans armes. Laomedon perished not vnder Troy, but was slayn in his hous. Great Alexander died not in makynge warre ouer all the earth, but he ended with a litle poyson. The couragious Caius Cæsar saved him selfe in. lii. battailes, & after in the Senate was slayne with. xxxi. strokes of penknives. Alcibiades brother of Pompei, perished not flotyng. xxi. yere vpon the Sea, but he was drowned after in drawyng water at a well. Tenne capitaynes that Scipio had with him in Affrike, that vanquished many harde battayles, as they were mockyng on a brydge, they fell fro the brydge, and were drowned. Good Drusio that had overcome 6 Parthes, the day of his triumphe, goyng to his chariotte, there fell a tyle that claued asunder his head, so that vain glorie was the end of his good life. What should I tell thee more: Thou knowest well, that Lucie my sister hauyng a needle on her bosome, playng with hir childe betwene hir armes, the childe with his hande hitte the needle such a stroke in to hir body, that he slew his mother.

¶ Once

# AVRELIVS.

Gneo Ruffyn the Consule, sente agaynst the Germanes, of our time was so valiant in armes, that none of our predecessours surmounted hym, yet he kembynge his olde white heares, one of the teeth of the combe entered into his hed, wherby grew an impostume, bi occasion wherof, he ended his honourable life for so small a case. Now semeth thee Domitius? As I do tell thee of so small a numbre, I could recite infinite examples, what misfortunes fell after good fortunes, what mischaunce after greate glozie, what misadventure after greate happe, what greate euill they take of theyr deathe, after the beginnyng of great wealth in the life, I beyng as they know not what to desire, but they beyng as I am, will rather choose the laborious and honourable deathe, than an yll death, and an honourable lyfe. To my seemyng, he that will be a manne amonge men, and not a beast amonge beastes, ought to trauayle sore to lyue well, and much moze to die better. For at the finall ende, an yll deathe putteth greate doubte of the good life: and the good deathe executeth the yll lyfe. I haue wrytten to thee at the beginnyng of

# MARCVS

of my letter, that by reason of the humi-  
dities, the growte greueth me yll. But  
to satisfie thy desire, I woulde sayne  
wzite with my hande moze at length.  
Two daies the loue that I beare to thee,  
haue foughte with the peyne that I en-  
dure. My will woulde wzite, but my  
syngers can not holde my penne. The  
remedie is, sith I may not as I woulde,  
that thou wilt take as thine owne, that  
I may doe, as mine own dede. Faustine  
my wife saluteth thee, who by reason of  
my diseases, is halfe ill at ease. It is  
shewed hir, that thou hast great peine of  
a hurte of thy face: she hath sente thee a  
boxe with baume, that thy hurte shall  
not appere in thy visage. If thou canst  
find any grene almôdes oz new nuttes,  
Faustine prateeth thee to send hir some by  
this bearer. I haue but littell store of  
money, therfore I sende thee a gowne,  
and thy wife a kirtell. No moze but I  
pray the goddes to giue thee that I de-  
sire for thee: and to geue me, that thou  
desirest for me. And beside that, I doos  
wzite to thee with my hande, I geue to  
thee mine owne proper heart.

¶ Alet

AVRELIVS.

**A** letter sent fro the Emperour to  
Claudius and Claudine his wyfe,  
bycause they beyng olde, ly-  
ued as yong persons.

**The . v. letter.**



Arke of mounte Celio to  
thes Claudius and Clau-  
dine husband and wyfe,  
dwelling in my warde,  
I desyre health, sendyng  
you this letter. The  
trouth is, because you are my freendes,  
and vnder my charge, I enquire of them  
that come fro you, of your estates: and  
by theym that goe to you, I sende re-  
commendacions to you both: yf ye haue  
my good will, demaund it of your hear-  
tes. And if in your stomackes ye repute  
and take me but as a suspicious freend,  
than I thinke my selfe even cleane con-  
dempned. The cruell forgetfulnesse,  
the whiche may be causer of myne ab-  
sence, peradventure banisheth the good  
dedes, that ye haue receiued of my per-  
son. If in any thyng I haue intrea-  
ted you with lies, than I require, that  
ye intreate me nothyng with trouth.  
But if I haue been alwayes your good  
neigh-

# M A R C V S

neighbour and freende, if ye haue any  
 nede of mine honour, than be to me as  
 good. Gato Furion my freende, as wel  
 as your parent, passynge this way to  
 Alexauondrie, hath shewed me manie  
 thynges, the which wer done in Rome:  
 and amonge other he shewed me one  
 thyng, that caused me to laugh, whan  
 I harde it: and yet it was right grie-  
 uous to me, whan I thought thereon.  
 Some thinges we take sodenly in sport  
 and mockery, the whiche afterwarde,  
 wel consydered, make vs very sorow.  
 He shewed me, how that ye seme to es-  
 uery man right auncient, & very young  
 in your doyng: for you aray your selfe  
 dayly with new apparell, as ye should  
 go to weddynges: and wher as men do  
 honour you as auncient persones, ye  
 shew your selfe wanton: and whan  
 folke renne to se getogawes, ye are not  
 the last. There is no lyghtnes in Rome,  
 but it is registred in your house. Thus  
 ye giue your selfe to pleasures, as they  
 that thinke neuer to haue displeasure.  
 And finally, whan ye should lyfte vp  
 your handes, ye entre newly into the  
 wages of the worlde. Truly my neigh-  
 bours and frendes, to speake with due  
 reuer-

reuer  
 than  
 your  
 laute  
 nest  
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 dyng  
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 his fee

AVRELIVS.

reuerence, I am ashamed of your vn-  
 shamesfastnes, and am no lesse sorry for  
 your fautes. There be diuers greuous  
 fautes, that are made light by the ho-  
 nest withdrawing of them. And some o-  
 ther that are but small fautes, and fin-  
 dyng no waies to leaue theim, are este-  
 med very greate. By all the goddes I  
 can finde none occasion howe soe to ex-  
 cuse your euyls: But I se now, wher-  
 with to condemne theym. Wherefore  
 pardon me, if that I seeme vn honest to  
 speake so muche, whan ye be not honest  
 in your liuyng. In good sooth I deny  
 not, but that thou Claudius hast beene  
 right free and liberall of thy person, and  
 thou Claudine right sayre of vi-  
 sage, and many persons for the beautie  
 of thy forhed haue been curious to haue  
 had thee to wife, but I would wit of the  
 youth of the one, and beautie of the o-  
 ther in vsyng all your lyues in vanitie,  
 what goodly trinkets ye hope to weare  
 in the straitnes of the Sepulchre. O  
 great fooles, ye and fooles agayne. Do  
 you not know yet, that the tyme fleeth  
 with mouyng of wynges: The life tra-  
 uaileth on hie way without lifyng of  
 hie seete; fortune stretcheth hie without  
 stryng



M A R C V S.

Stirryng hir armes, and the worlde bot-  
 derh it selfe sayyng nothpyng, the fleshe  
 consumeth without selyng, and our glo-  
 rie passeth as it neuer had been: and fi-  
 nallie deathe assaileth vs, er euer he  
 knocke at the gate. Certaynely it is im-  
 possible for to make sinewes of bloude,  
 of veines to make boones, of a craggie  
 rocke a playne waye, and of possible to  
 make impossible. I meane that none  
 shall thinke, but that the greenenesse of  
 youth shall waste and wyther in age.  
 O worlde, what a worlde art thou: so  
 littell is our force, and our weakenesse  
 so great, that without resistyng brow-  
 nest vs willingly in the depenesse of thy  
 perillouse whyrlepoole: and hydest vs  
 in the thickest of thy mounteignes, and  
 ledest vs out of the brode way, wans-  
 deryng by the narrow pathes, and bryn-  
 gest vs into the rugged way. I dooe  
 meane, that they that be greatest in fa-  
 uour, thou bringest into daunger, to the  
 entent that with one stroke of thy foote,  
 thou makest ouerthrow them. O world,  
 two and fiftie yere I haue been in thee,  
 and yet thou neuer saidest one trowth to  
 me, and I haue taken thee with tenne  
 thousande lies. I neuer desired anye  
 thing

AVRELIVS.

thyng of thee, but thou diddest promise  
it me, but thou neuer gauest me anye  
thyng promised me. I neuer treated with  
thee, but thou beguiledst me: I neuer a-  
rined at thee, but thou lost me: I neuer  
saw thyng in the, wherby I should loue  
thee. For all that wee se in thee is wor-  
thie to be abhorred. And beside this, I  
wote not what is the worlde. What  
faute is in vs, the worldlie wretches?  
For if thou hate vs; we dare not hate  
thee: if thou bzaule with vs, we must be  
still: if thou spurne at vs, we must suffre  
thse: if thou beate vs with a staffe, we  
say nothyng: And yet if thou wouldest  
haue vs gone, we wil not go. And worst  
of all is, that we had rather serue the for  
nothing with trauayle, than the goddes  
with praiser and rest. I sweare to the by  
the immortall goddes, that oftentimes  
I make accopt of my yerres passed: and  
an other time I reuolue my bokes, to see  
what I haue redde. And likewise I de-  
maund of my frendes, to geus me counsel  
to know, wherin it is that I wold speke  
I beyng at Rhodes, redynge Rethorike,  
My Lord Adrian keepynge me there, at  
the age of. xxi. yers, my yong fleshe, and  
no lesse weake than tender, at the first  
worke

M A R C V S.

woozke I founde solitarinesse, and the  
solitarinesse with libertee adored the  
wozld: In adoryng I felt it, in feelyng  
I solowed it, in solowynge I ouertoke  
it, in ouertakynge I toke it, in takynge I  
proued it, in prouynge I tasted it, in ta-  
styng I founde it bitter, in findynge it  
bitter, I hated it, in hatynge it, I felte  
it, in leauynge it, it retourned, and re-  
tournynge I receiued it. And in this ma-  
ner, two and fiftie yeres, we haue ea-  
ten of one breade, and dwelled in one  
house. Whan I sawe it displeased, I  
serued it, whan it sawe me thoughtfull,  
it chered me, whan I sawe it in prosper-  
ritee, I demaunde it, whan it sawe me  
merie, it beguiled me. And thus we to-  
gether vnto this day, not geuyng me  
leauie to goe, nor I willynge to departe  
fro it. O wozlde, thou haste so many  
countenaunces in the vanitee, that thou  
leadest all wanderyng in vnstablenesse.  
Sith we suffre the to take vs, thou wilt  
neuer deliuer vs, if wee withdraw our  
feete fro the snare of fortune, soothwith  
thou fetterest our legges faste with yron  
bands: and if by chance we fill the yrons,  
anon thou manacklest our handes: and  
though the way be strapte, the path  
sharpe,

AVRELIVS.

Sharpe, the iourney long, and our flesh  
weake, yet our bodies are euer laden  
with vices, and our heartes fulfilled  
with thoughtes and pessiuenesse. Of  
one thyng I haue great meruayle, and  
I can not deuise what it is, without a  
mie constrainte to the contrarie, we go  
suertie ouer the bridge, and yet we will  
goe an other wate: and though the same  
way be sure, yet we will aduenture in  
to the gulse: if the wates bee drie, yet  
wil we goe through the dirte and myze  
and plasse: haupng meate for our ly  
upng, we searche for popson to kyll vs:  
we searche to be losse, and may be assu  
red: without interest we commit sinne,  
seepng payne commyng with all: And  
finallie, to the intent that wee shoulde  
bee taken for good, we shoote at the  
whyte of vertues, and hitte the butte  
of vices. One thyng I confesse, though  
it be mine owne shame: Peraduenture  
in tyme to come, it shal be profitable to  
some other. In fiftie yerres of my lyfe,  
I woulde proue all the vices of this lyfe,  
to see if any thyng might haue satis  
fied the humayne malice: And after I  
had seene all thyng, I founde, that the  
more I did eate, the more I died for hun

M A R C V S

ger: The more I slept, the more sluggish  
 I was: the more I dranke, the more  
 thyrste I hadde, the more I rested, the  
 more tvery I was: the more good I  
 hadde, the more couetouse I was: the  
 more I sought, the lesse I founde: And  
 finallye I neuer tooke peine for any  
 thyng, but I was euer lette, and than  
 anone I hadde appetite to an other.  
 Let no man thinke to liue in the fleshe,  
 and satisfie the fleshe. It hath power  
 to take fro vs our lyfe: and wee haue  
 no power to take from it the disordi-  
 nate couetyse. I woulde fayne knowe  
 of the goddes, why our dayes shoulde  
 haue an ende. O cruell goddes, what is  
 this? We can neuer passe one good ly-  
 ues day, we doe but taste it, and so pas-  
 seth our life, and life is but a dreame,  
 and death waketh it. Lette every man  
 know, that the woorld taketh our will,  
 and wee with our good will, geue it  
 thereto: and it taketh our will to the  
 ende to content vs, and prayse that wee  
 praise, and the time passeth so, that wee  
 liue after the cursed time To attayne  
 vertues, we haue good desire, but to at-  
 teyn to vices we put to all our workes.  
 This haue I sayde for you Claudius,  
 and

AVRELIVS.

and Claudine, that in three score yeres,  
ye wyl not issue nor goe out of the pry-  
son of the world: Haung your feete pu-  
trified with yrons and charnes, what  
is than to be hoped of yonge personnes,  
whiche be of fure and twenty yeres olde:  
Except my memozy sayle me, whan I  
was with you, ye had your newewes,  
sonnes of your children married, and  
nieces, daughters of your daughters,  
married: & me thinketh, whan the guy-  
nes come, the season of cherries is not  
come: and whan the new wine is tur-  
ned: the dry huskes ar cast out. Can ye  
suffre diuers newewes, sonnes to your  
children, in your hous, and few yeres in  
your persons: Very seldome we se fruite  
and the floures together: for whan the  
one is ripe, and in season, than the other  
is cleane gone and auoided.

**I**n this case I thynke greate mir-  
uayle, howe ye can bee of many yeres,  
and seeme to be young. I know none o-  
ther thyng, but whan ye married Lam-  
berte, your owne daughter to Drusio,  
& Matrine your niece, daughter of your  
daughter, with Lambert that wer al li-  
tle and yong children: and si the that ye  
bee of a good age, and lacke good, ye  
Ac ii may

M A R C V S

may giue vnto eche of them twentie ye-  
res of your age, in stede of their dowrie.  
And so ye shall unlade you of your ye-  
res, and charge you with other mens  
goedes and substaunce . No lesse this  
matter passeth in thought, then the short  
cloath doeth in a false weauers hande.  
Ye haue streigned it on the tentours,  
and drawn it on the pearche , for to  
lengthen the life. If ye were made faire  
and cleare cordwayners ware , and  
sweete of saour, that ye might be dra-  
wen out at length, it were well dooen,  
but ye are but as fructe of Almondes,  
seeming drie without, and wourme ea-  
ten within. For the loue that I haue to  
you , and for neighbourhoode that ye  
haue had with me, I desyre still frend-  
shipp of you , that lyke as I knewe you  
younge, and very younge , so to knowe  
you olde , and verie olde . I saye not  
that ye surmount in age , but your wit  
fayleth you . O Claudius and Clau-  
dine, I wyl ye know, that to susteine  
youth, and to deface age, to lengthen the  
lyfe, and driue away death: it is not in  
mennes handes that desyre it, it is the  
goddess that doo giue it, whiche accor-  
dyng to Justice and our couetise grueth  
vs

# AVRELIVS.

vs lyfe by weight, and death without  
 measure. Ye maie knowe, that our na-  
 ture is corruption of our body, and our  
 body is putrifaction of our witte, and  
 our witte is guide to our soule, and our  
 soule is mother of our desyres, and our  
 desyres are fleares of our youth, and our  
 youth token of our age, and our age spie  
 of our death, and death the house of our  
 lyfe, wherinto youthe goeth on foote  
 and from age, we can not flee on horse-  
 backe. I woulde witte a thynge of you  
 what fynde ye in this lyfe? Wherefore  
 dooeth lyfe content you after foure score  
 yeres of age? eyther ye haue bene good  
 or yll: yf ye haue bene good and vertu-  
 ouse, ye shall not reioyce you with yll  
 goddis, if ye haue bene yll, than as well  
 desire death: to the intent ye shoulde bee  
 no more yll, or els iustly ye might bee  
 slaine by iustice. For he that hath bene  
 yll tyll three score yeres of age, in him  
 there is no hope of amendement. What  
 the coragious great Pompei, and Caius  
 Cesar wer enemies, and beyng in cruel  
 ciuill battayles, Rome was inflamed,  
 and them self lost. The annales shewe,  
 that suche as come in fauour of Iulius  
 Cesar, cam out of the west, and the suc-



cours of Pompey out of the east, among  
 other there came certayne people out of  
 Barbarie, dwelling among the moun-  
 tains Riffes toward Inde: Their cu-  
 stome was, when they came to thage of  
 fiftie yerres, to make great fires, & bren  
 them selfe quicke in sacrifice to theyr  
 goddes, and the same day the parentes  
 and children woulde make greate fea-  
 stes, and eat of the fleshe halfe brente,  
 and drinke wine with the ashes of the  
 bones. This was seene with the eyes of  
 Pompey, because that he accomplished  
 the yerres of fiftie in the campe. O gol-  
 den worlde, wherein were such men. O  
 happy people, that vnto all the worl-  
 des to come, haue left such a memozy of  
 them. They dispised the world, and for-  
 gat them selfe. What strokes gaue they  
 to fortune? What delites for the flesh?  
 and how littell set they by theyr liues,  
 and yet more, to set so small stoze by  
 death? O what bridell was this for the  
 vicious, and what hope for the vertu-  
 ous, what confusion for them that loued  
 this life, and what ensample not to fere  
 death, haue they lefte vs? And sith they  
 despised their own ppropze life, it is than  
 to be thought, that they died not to the  
 entent

AVRELIVS.

entente to take other mennes goodes, to  
thinke that our life neuer shall haue end  
therfore our couetise neuer hath ende.  
O glorious people, and tenne thousand  
times blessed, that lefte their sensualis-  
tee, and banquished their naturall will,  
beleue not that ye see, but giue faith to  
that ye neuer saw, as they that see no-  
thyng goe agaynst the fatall destinies:  
who goeth against the way of fortune,  
giue a wincche to the life, robbe the bo-  
die at the deathe, winne honour of the  
goddess, not that thei should length your  
life, but to take the rest of the life. Ar-  
chagatus Surgien, and Anthonius the  
phiscion, and Esculapius the father of  
medicines, I thinke wanne but littel in  
that land. Who commanded these Bar-  
bariens, to take syrope in the moynynge  
and to take pilles at nighte, and to re-  
freshe them with milke, to take cleere  
barley to annoint their liuers, to daye  
to be let blond, and to morow to take a  
purgacion, to eat one thing, and to ab-  
steine from many thynges: Than me  
thinke that they beyng of fiftie yere of  
age, and you of. lxxx. at the least, should  
be egall with them in wisdom. And  
if we will not take deth in good warrth,

# MARCVS

pet at the least amend the yll life. I re-  
 membze well of a long tyme, that Fa-  
 bricius our neighbour willed vs, to be-  
 ware of a mockerie, the whiche if it be  
 not broken, there shall solow great dis-  
 honour. And sith he shewed me so good  
 a lesson, I will paye you with the same  
 money. I will shewe it you, if ye poore  
 aged folkes dooe not knowe it, ye be  
 sache, that your eyes are bleared, your  
 noles droppynge, your heares white  
 your hearyng dull, your tongue faulte-  
 ryng, your teeth waggynge, your face  
 wrinkled, your feete swolle, your shoul-  
 ders croked, and your stomake distem-  
 pered, finally if the craves could speake,  
 they might rightfully call for you to  
 come, and inhabite in them. Of trouth  
 it is great compassion to beholde young  
 ignorance, than open their eyes, to  
 know the infortunes in this life, whan  
 it is time to cloase them, and to enter  
 into the graue. And therof cometh,  
 that it is in vayne, to geue counsaille  
 to vayne young people. For youthe is  
 wthoute experience of that it dooeth,  
 and is suspecte of that it heareth, and  
 will not beleue that is sated, and dis-  
 prayseth other monkes counsaille, and  
 is

is right poore of their owne. And there  
foze I say Claudius and Claudine, my  
freendes, I finde without comparifon,  
none so yll an ignoraunce of goodnesse,  
that holdeth these younge personnes,  
as is the obstinacie of these aged per-  
sonnes in yll. The diffinicion of yll, is a  
manne not to know that he ought to  
know, yet it is wors to haue the know-  
lage of wysedome, and to liue like a  
brute beaste. O ye olde goutie people,  
ye forget your selfe, and renne in poste,  
after the lyfe, and ye neuer regarde  
what shall fall, tyll ye bee suche as ye  
would not, and without power to re-  
turne backe: and hereof cometh that ye  
lacke of life, ye wil supplie it with folie.  
Than awake ye that be slombzyng, and  
haue no force to sleape, onpen your slea-  
ple eyes, & accustome you to do well: take  
that is nedeful for you: and finallie ap-  
pointe you betymes with death, er he  
make execution of your life. liii. yeares  
I haue knowen them of the worlde, yet  
I could neuer know none so olde, nor  
so putrified in their membres, but that  
they hertes were hole to thinke unhap-  
pinesse, and their tongues hole to make  
lies. Take hede, ye poore olde persons,

# M A R C V S

we thincke such sommer is past, ye haue  
 forwarde with the tyme: and if ye ta-  
 ke a small season, yet ye make haste to  
 take lodgynge. I meane, that though  
 ye haue past the day in the sea with pe-  
 rill, the night of death will take you  
 at the port of health. Mockes doo passe  
 with mockeynges, and trouthe with  
 trouthe: though I haue seene you right  
 younge and hardy, now I see you very  
 olde: Though the knyghte passe his  
 course, yet it is not his faulte, yf the  
 horse be not wel reigned: but at the end  
 of his course, he will trimme his horse.  
 Let not that begile you, that of custome  
 hath begiled men: That is, ye shalbe as  
 well esteemed therby, as though ye had  
 much money. I beleue ye solow diuers,  
 and yet they all haue enuy at you. But  
 truste me, that at the end, honour is ge-  
 uen to a younge person pooze and ver-  
 tuous, rather than to an old person rich  
 and vicieuse. The riche maye haue  
 power to bee more esteemed with pooze  
 people, and accompaigned with riche  
 and couetous: but the vertuous pooze  
 person shall be better esteemed and lesse  
 hated. What can be greater confusion  
 to a person, or more shame to our me-  
 ther

# AVRELIVS.

ther Rome, than to see in diuers places,  
the olde people behaue and appoynte  
them as yonge folke, as though they  
lyke the vyne leaues did newly bur-  
geine: What thyng is it to se the olde  
persones, now in our daies, bzaide and  
make sayre their white heares, trymme  
and kembe theyr beards, weare straits  
shooes, their hosen garded, their sur-  
tes frounced, their cloakes of skarlet,  
their badges enbroidzed, theyr cheynes  
of golde aboute their neckes, fringes of  
golde and siluer about theyr apparell,  
Oystrige scthers vpon their hartes lyke  
Brekes: perles and ringes on their fin-  
gers like Indians, their gownes longe  
like flamine priestes, & finally woozt of  
all, whan death hath giuen them dape,  
than they answere, that newly they wil  
serue a lady: O how many haue I kno-  
wen in Rome, that were highly renou-  
med in theyr youth, and after thorough  
wanton lightnesse they were but lost in  
theyr age: & woozt of all, they lost their  
renoume in their age: and the sauour of  
theyr parentes, and the profite of theyr  
children. Certeinly Quagin, Caton of  
the auncient linage of the Catons, was  
in Rome, a priest of the law fine perca,  
and

# MARCVS

and prouost. iiii. yeres and Censour. ii. yeres, and dictatour one yere, and Consule siue tymes, and whan he was past the age of. lxx. yeres, than he began to serue Rosane doughter of Suenus Lucius, a lady right fayre and young: and he doted so farre in hir loue, that he spent all that he had to serue hir, and would weepe lyke a childe whan he saw hir. It fortuneth this ladie fell sicke of a feuer, and she listeth to eate newe grapes, and it was in spryng tyme, whan there was none rype as than in Rome. He sent for some to the field of Danubius, that was a. lxx. and v. l. myle thense, and this was shewed to the Senate, and they ordeigned, that Rosana was cloased in with virgins Vestalles, and the old man was banished perpetually out of Rome, and his chyldren liued in great pouertie, and the father died infamed. I beleue that ye haue heard of this. There were diuers that reputed for a great villany the dedde of the olde louer, and praysed the sentence of the Senate. But I thinke if Guagin had had as many young persons in his banishment, as there were olde amorous persons that toke by hym example,

AVRELIVS.

ple, I thinke there should not be so many men lost, nor so many women so yll married. And therfore the beste is, that suche people, whan they be warned by theyr seruauntes, and reproved by their parentes, and desired by their freendes, that they make not excuse and say, how they be not amorous, but in mockery. Whan I was very younge, both of age and witte, on a night I mette with a neighbour of mine nigh to the capitoll, I was his nephew, and son to his son, and sayd to him: My lord Fabricius, ye are amorous thus and thus. He answered me, I do it but for pastime. Certainly I had meruayle to mete hym at that houre, and I was abashed of that answer that he gaue me. In them that be sore aged, and of sadnesse and grauitie, suche requestes ought not to be called amours, but rather dolours, not a pastime, but a losse time, no mockery, but a folishnes: for in loue with mockery, folowynge the trowth of infamy. To thee Claudius & Claudine, I demaunde of you olde louers, what is it to be polythed and arrayed as ye be so gaylie, but the bzonde of the tauerne, where there is nothyng but bynegre, layre  
egges



# M A R C V S.

eggcs and nothyng in them, gilt pilles,  
and bitter in taste, an olde bottell and a  
new stoppell, a hole wounde rancled  
vnderneath, the figure of an ore to take  
partriches, a slipper way, where no  
fote is sure, and finally and old louer is  
as a knight decayed, that helpeth to lese  
money, and can helpe no man fro peril.  
Of trouth the olde lecherous louer is as  
a swine with a white head and a grene  
taylor. Than we thynke, ye that be my  
freendes and neighbours, ye take no  
hede in breakyng the winges out of sea-  
son, whan the scthers be gone: and yet  
ye beguile me not, to say that there is  
time ynough: beleue me, that that may  
be done in the day, leaue it not tyll the  
night of your age. For the blunt knife,  
cutteth but ill with the edge, and he  
that is wont for to eate the fleshe, can  
not eate the bones. Than let vs come  
to the remedie, to redresse this dom-  
mage, that is, if that the house begin to  
fall, shooe and stae it not with pieces,  
and slender tymber, but with streight  
pyllets of the lyfe, that we haue to yeld  
the goddes, and to men by good fame.  
And yf the vine of all our vertues, be  
redy to be gathered, at the least lette vs  
gather

AVRELIVS.

gather that is left vs by vnderstanding.  
And sith the waters of our rest, are wa-  
shed with our yll workes, let vs water  
them with new muste of good desyres,  
and than the good goddess will be con-  
tent with the seruices that we ought to  
doe, for the merites and rewardes that  
they do to vs, so that if we desire, to at-  
tayne golde for our workes, yet to paye  
vs with the copper of our good desyres.  
And finally, I say to you Claudius and  
Claudine, if ye haue offered the floure of  
your youth to vices, offre nowe at this  
time, the bryanne of your age to the god-  
des. I haue writen thus largely to you,  
as I thinke: and bycause ye shal not be  
taken as coward, nor I for hardy, giue  
no parte of this letter to any person.

¶ And I desire you to haue me recom-  
mended vnto al my neighbors in Rome  
namely vnto Drusine, the honourable  
wydow. I sende to thee two thousande  
sesters, thou shalt geue a thousande of  
theim to Saurina the doughter to thy  
doughter, I send it to hir for a pleasure,  
whiche she bidde me at a feast. Fau-  
stine my wife is very sycke. Thou  
shalte geue the other thousande to  
the Vestale virgines, that they maye  
prayer

# M A R C V S.

pray for hit vnto the goddes. Vnto thee  
 Claudine, Faustine my wyfe, sendeth  
 a coffer, but by the goddes I dooe not  
 know what there is within it. Now  
 that ye be aged, I beseeche the goddes to  
 sende you and me, and my wyfe, for to  
 end the rest of our daies in a good life.  
 Marke your neighbour and freende hath  
 written this with his owne hands.

**A** letter sente fro Marke the emper  
 our to Labinia, a Romayne wy  
 dow, for to comfort hit for the  
 death of hit husbnde.

The fourth letter.

**M**Arke of mount Celio, first consul  
 Romain, sent agaynst the Daces  
 to thee Labinia Romaine Ladie,  
 wyfe to my good freende Claudine, sal  
 ute to the, and consolacion of the god  
 des consolatours. I thinke well: thou  
 hast suspecte, that I haue so littell sette  
 by thee, sith in thy profounde and gre  
 uous hurtes, my consolacion hath been  
 slouthfull. But I remember thy noble  
 nesse, whiche can neuer fayle: and my  
 good will, the whiche hath neuer desir  
 ed to serue thee. I am in suretee that  
 thy

AVRELIVS.

thy great vertue shuld put away the sus-  
 spect. For though I am the last to com-  
 fort thee, yet I am the firste that soolet  
 thy dolours, and shall not be the last to  
 remedy thy troubles. And in case that  
 ignorance is the ende of all vertues, es-  
 perance for all vices, as well sometyme  
 great pleasure taketh away reste from  
 the wyse folkes, and scandalizeth the in-  
 nocentes, muche better amonge vs la-  
 tyns we fynde with ignorance of vices,  
 more than the grekes do with the know-  
 lage of vertues. If that we be ignorant  
 we haue no payne to abyde it, nor sorow  
 to take it. I say it because I haue kno-  
 wen, that I would not know, and that  
 is, the traualles are at an end of Clau-  
 dine thy housband, and now begynnerth  
 the sorowe of Labinia. I haue kno-  
 wen it certayne daies, and woulde not  
 discover it to thee, for it shoulde haue ben  
 crueltie. She that hath ben in trouble  
 so longe a space with absence, that I  
 shoulde haue giuen knowlage of the  
 death of suche an entierly desired hus-  
 bande: and it had been no reason that  
 she, of whom I haue receiued so many  
 good debes, should haue of me so yll ne-  
 wes. And sith the honre that I knewe,  
 Do that

M A R C V S

that ye wytt therof, my peyne hath been  
double. I fele his death, and now I fele  
in his death my solitarinesse, and thy de-  
solacion. Thou hast reason to wepe, not  
for that he is with the goddis in rest,  
but for vs miserable persons, liuyng in  
the power of so many illes. therefore we  
shold not cesse to take peine and sorow.  
O Labinia, oftentimes I haue thought  
for what thyng I myght first wepe, for  
the yll that lyueth, or for the good that  
dieth. For as much hurteth the yll that  
is founde, as the good that is losse. It  
is greatte peine to see these innocentes  
dye, and surely it is no lesse peine to  
see the malicious people lyue. But of  
that that necessitee muste needes come,  
whan it cometh we ought not to slan-  
der it. Shew me Labinia, doest thou  
not knowe, of how good conuersacion  
the goddis be, to whom we hope to goe,  
and how yll the men bee, with whom  
we are conuersant, that as the yll are  
borne to dye, in lyke wyse the good dy-  
eth to lyue? For a good man alwaie ly-  
ueth in dyng, and the yll alwaies di-  
eth in liuyng. And than sith the god-  
des haue caused him to come to theim,  
it is no greatte thyng that they haue ta-  
ken

AVRELIVS.

ken fro thee. I am in certayne, thy desired housebande Claudine, and my true freend, seying where he is, and remembryng what he hath scaped, had rather, to be still there as he is, than to returne againe to thee: of trowth the remedies for widowes is not to thinke of any company passed, nor of the solitarinesse present, but to thinke of the rest, that they hope to come to. If hytherunto thou hast ben in payne, abidyng in thy house now reioyce thee, because he abideth for thee in his, for thou shalte be much better intreated among the goddes, than here amonge men, nor consent not to thinke that thou haste losse him all only. For sith we all reioyced of his lyfe, we ar than bound to wepe for his death. The greatest sorow to a sycke harte amonge al other sorowes, is to see other reioyce at his dolours, and contrary wyse, the greatest ease among al greues of fortune, is to see that other feeleth their sorowe. All that my freende wepith for me with his cles, and al that he feleth of my sorow, dischargeth some what myne inwarde payne. The booke in the tyme of August the emperour sheweth, how as he was nere to the river of

M A R C V S

Danubius, he founde a maner of people, haupnge this custome. The same houre whan a husbände taketh a wyfe, or a louer, they woulde sweare by theyr goddes, neuer to weepe nor sorow for any maner of fortune, but to forget theyr own propre troubles, and to die to remedie their louer, & so in lyke wyse eche to doe with other. O glorious worlde, O right happy age, O people of eternall memory, wherin the men wer so humble, and their louers so trew, that wold forgette theyr owne sorowe, and weepe for others. O Rome beyng Rome, O tyme yll spent, O lyfe yll applyed, O small thought rechelesse in these daies, that hertes presente seporate from welth, and assured without remedy in euill, that men forgettyng that they be men, tourne theim selfe to the beastes? I desyre to giue the lyfe, and thou dyest to take away my life: Thou weepst to see me laugh, and I laugh to see thee weepe. And thus to no profite of any of vs, we leese, and we reioyce in leesyng of our selfe. By the lawe of an honest man, I sweare to thee Labinia, yf thy remedy lay in my handes, as thy sorow dooeth at my herte, thy pityfull weepynge

pynges should not hurt me, nor thy head  
 aile and wofull solitarinesse of thy hus-  
 bande: but sith thy remedie and my de-  
 sire can not be accomplyshed, and that  
 with death, nor with them that be dead  
 we haue no power, than remitte it in-  
 to the handes of the Goddes, who can  
 muche better deliuer vs than we canne  
 choose. We see by experience naturall,  
 that some sickenesse is healed by wooz-  
 des that bee sayde to vs, and some by  
 woozdes that be layed to vs, and some  
 with woozdes do leaue other medicines:  
 I say this, because the heartes that bee  
 in peyne make a sea of thoughtes, some-  
 tyme comforted with benefites dooen to  
 the person, more than with woozdes spo-  
 ken in their eares: an other time the so-  
 rowfull heart is more comforted with  
 woozdes of a freend, than with all other  
 seruices of the world. Oh how sorowfull  
 am I, for in all these am I faultie, con-  
 siderynge the highnesse of the honora-  
 ble ladie Romayne, and the small abse-  
 litee of me, Marc of mount Celio: I see  
 my self so vnable to comfort thee, and to  
 remedie thee I lacke substance, I haue  
 made the a sore wound, the which wold  
 be taken in woorth. I will not pay thee



# MARCVS

With inke and paper, that which I may  
doe with my person : for he that geuerh  
counsaile with woordes, may remedy  
with woorkes, if he shew him selfe a  
freend in time past, not taken in suspect  
to be an enemye in time to come. If thou  
hast reputed me hitherto for thy neigh-  
bour, and parent to thy husband, I pray  
thee now to take me for thy husbande  
in loue, and for thy father in counsaile,  
and for sonne in seruice, and for aduo-  
cate in the Senate, in such maner, that  
I hope thou shalt saye, all that I haue  
losse in many, I haue founde in Marke  
alone. And because that is greuous con-  
flictes, where as craft and subtiltie is  
for gotten, the vnderstandyng is altered  
and the reason withdrawen, than there  
is as much necessitie of good counsaile  
as of a meane remedy. Claudine nowe  
dead, was my freende, and I Marke a  
liue am his, and also by thy deseruyng,  
thou maiest commaunde me what thou  
wilt : and for the loue that I haue to  
thee, thou maiest desire of me any thing  
needfull. I pray thee eschue the extre-  
mitie of the Romaine widowes. For in  
all extremities lieth the vice, for all  
suche warieth them selfe, and annoyeth  
the

AVRELIVS:

the goddess, and lest them that be alive,  
and do no profite to them that be dead,  
but giue suspicion to them that be yll,  
as did Fulvius wife, the noble Marke  
Marcello, the seying hir husbände buri-  
ed in the feelde of Mars, scratched hir  
visage, and tare hir heare, and brake hir  
teeth, and at euery place sowned, and  
two Senatours helde hir by the armes,  
because she shoulde not hurte hir selfe.

Then saied Flavius Censorius, let hir  
alone, for this day she wyll solowe the  
ourney of wydowes, and so it was, for  
whyles that the boanes of Marcello  
were a brennyng, she was intreatynge  
to marry an other husbände, and yet  
more to be noted, one of the Senatours  
that ledde hir, gaue hir his hand, as one  
Romaine to an other by perpetuall ma-  
riage. This case was so foule, and ta-  
ken of euerie man for a great villanie,  
and all the Romainys there present wer  
abashed, and wer in suspect neuer after  
to beleue wydow in Rome. I saie not  
this Labinia, because thou wilt doo so  
for by the god Mars I sweare, the hert  
of Marke hath of thee no suche suspecte,  
noz thy great age will not suffer it, noz  
the auctoritee of so sadde a Matrone

Do illl

wyll

MARCVS

Will demaunde it. I require thee right hartlie, forget not the honestee y ought to be in a Romayn woman, no: retrace that is requisite in a widow. For if thou be a widowe of solitarinesse, that thou seest by hym that is dead, than comfort thee of the reputacion that is holden of thee by them that be liuing. I will saie no more to thee at this time, but that thy renoume may be such with al men, to caste suche a bzidell vpon them that be yll, to cause them to be still, and to them that be good, to giue them spurres to serue thee. And if ye will thus dooe, take no thought for any businesse that ye haue in the senate. My wife faultin greteth thee, and oftentimes wepeth for this misadventure. I send thee mo-

neie to pay thy creditours. The goddes that haue giuen rest to Claudine thy husbnde, geue comforte and consolacion to Labinia his wife.

Marke of mounte  
Celio hath writ-  
ten this with  
his owne  
hande.

A lers

AVRELIVS.

**A** letter sent by Marke the Emperours  
to Lincinatus his freende, because  
he beyng a gentilmanne bes  
came a marchaunte.

**The . vii. letter.**

**M**Arke Edilis Censor, to the Lincinatus of Capue, sende salutation for thy person, force and vertue agaynst sinister fortune. Sith the feast Berescinte, mother of the Goddes, I haue seene no seruaunt of thy howse, nor letter of thy hande, that I haue redde, the whiche putteth me in greatesuspicion of thy health, and that thou arte in some perill, or els thou dispraisest our amitee. Dischargeyng not thy selfe with so littell thought, nor forget vs not with so greates rechelesnesse: for thy trauaile can not be so much in writyng, as it should be consolation to me to reade thy letters, and if thy hande were slowe from trauaile of writyng, yet enforce mine hearte for myne ease, wherein is semblaunt of true freendes, In that I will put the fro annoyauce, and thou to do me pleasure: Thou knowest well the smalle distaunce that is betwene Capue and mount Celio, was  
DD b
not

# MARCVS

not the cause of our freendshippe, but  
the space hence to Illirico shoulde not  
cause vs to be straungers. The delicate  
wynes sent out of their owne countrey  
to straungers take the greater mighte,  
and the serther that the persons of true  
frendes be separate, the soner thei ought  
to vnite and ioigne together their min-  
des. She we me I pray thee Cincinate,  
lythe thou haste ever founde me trewe,  
why hast thou any suspect of my desire?  
The greene leaues outwarde sheweth,  
that the tree is not dyle inwarde: and  
the good woozkes openly notifieth the  
inwarde hearte secretely. Where it is  
not profite, there is alwaies breakynge  
and saylyng in seruice: for he that per-  
fectlie loueth, perpetually and sayth-  
fully serueth. And I am as much asto-  
nied of thy slouth, in demaundyng  
somewhat of me, as of thy cowardise  
to write. I will confesse the one trowth,  
if thou haddest as muche hardinesse as  
will, and thought of the small effecte  
of my letter might satisfie to the great-  
nesse of thine vnderstandynge, it shoulde  
abide than for yll dooen, but not for  
thorte, as he that throweth his spere.  
In tyme past whan I was younge,  
and

# AVRELIVS.

and thou oldz, thou in thy counsayles,  
and I with my money, eche gaue to o-  
ther: but at this houre, that thy head is  
white, men reken thee to be old, and yet  
thy workes accuse thee to be yong. Rea-  
son is, that I succour thy pouertie with  
money, and to remedy thy lyghtnesse  
with counsell. ffor the good wyll that I  
haue to thee, and ffor the law of amitie  
that I owe to thee, I will aduertise thee  
as a vertuous man ought to dooe, and  
that is, to remember the benefites that  
he hath receiued, and to forget the in-  
juries dooen to him: esteemie muche his  
owne small power, and hold the great-  
nesse of other at nothyng: fauoure the  
good, and dissimule with the euill: be  
great with the greattest, and communis-  
cable with your inferiours, p̄sentlye  
doo good deedes, and also of theym that  
be absent speake good wordes. The gre-  
uous losses of Fortune, holde thim in  
small estimacion, and the small losse of  
honour, holde that in great estimacion,  
for one thyngs aduenture not manye,  
and ffor diuers doubtfull, aduenture not  
a certayntie: and finally be freende to  
one, and ennemie to none. These thyng-  
ges ought he to haue, that amonge  
good

# MARCVS

good will be accompted good. I knowe  
well thou hast left to be Detour of the  
warre, and now thou haste set thy selfe  
by land and by sea to vse marchaundise.  
Thou makest me soze abashed, to con-  
quere thyne ennemies as a Romaine,  
and now to take on thee, the office, to  
persecute thy freendes as a tyran. Wilt  
thou dooe yll to thy neighbours, and  
leauue the straungers? Wilt thou take  
away the lyuyng from him that geueth  
vs liuyng, and take awaye death from  
him that taketh away our lyfe? Wylt  
thou to them that be mouers and stran-  
gers giue moderation, and from them  
that be sobre take away theyr reste?  
Thou wilt giue to theym that take a-  
way from vs, and take from them that  
giue vs: deliuer theim that bee con-  
demned, and condemne Innocentes.  
Thou wylt be tyraunt to the common  
wealch, and not defendour of thy coun-  
trei. Than sithe to all this he aduen-  
tureth him, that leaueth deedes of ar-  
mes, and commeth a marchaunte, I  
study soze, what hath meeued thee to  
leauue chualry, wherin thou haste had  
great honour, and now to take on thee  
an office, whereby soloweth so muche  
Gaine

AVRELIVS.

shame and rebuke, Surely I thynke in  
thee none other excuse, but that thou art  
olde, and canst not clyme the moun-  
taynes, and now thou sittest styll, and  
robbest the playnes. The olde men olde  
malady, whan outwarde force faileth  
theim, than forthwith they arme them  
with malice inwarde. I say it by the  
sore couetous persones, as thou arte  
nowe, Whiche arte nener satisfied,  
but still desirous of more. One thyng  
I wyll say, thou haste taken an office,  
wherby all þy felowes haue robbed  
in diuers dates, thou shalt giue accompt  
therefoze in one houre, ye and after the  
tyme shall come, that thou shalt lese all  
in a moment. For the goddes permitte,  
that one shall be a chastisement of dy-  
uers, and longe tyme chastiseth all.  
Now is it my freende Cincinate, that  
in the house of thy father, Cincinate,  
were speares, and not writynges han-  
gyng: I haue seene his hall full of ar-  
mure, and not of fardels: and portall  
and gates full of knightes, and not of  
marchauntes. Certainly there haue I  
seene the scole of noblenes, and not as  
it is now the denne of rheues. O Cin-  
cinate, cursed be so villayne an office,  
the



# M A R C V S.

The marchanttes liue poorly to dis-  
riche: and lette vs say agayne, cursed  
be it, because the couetise of one that  
is yll, woulde be accomplished to the  
pzeiudice of many that bee good. I  
wyl not hurt thee by thy pzedecessours,  
but I wyl aduertise thee of thy misery  
and of thy pzedecessours. If thou  
thinkest that thy vertue shoulde holde  
to the ende of the worlde, as the worlde  
holdeth to thee, and it seemeth by thy  
white beates, holde me excused of the  
trauayle in perswadyng thee to heare  
me. Howe be it, it is reason, that  
the gate of so greate a cause be knocked  
at, with the hammer of some warning  
and to bring it to good reason, of neces-  
sitye it muste passe the mylle: and to  
make cleare the vnderstandynge from  
time to time, of very neede there requi-  
reth counsell. Diuers tymes wise men  
faile, because they woulde faile, but if the  
thynges be of such qualitie, that wise-  
dome suffiseth not to assure them, than  
it is needefull, that his will be vntied,  
and his vnderstandynge dissolued, and  
his owne propre opinion bold, and than  
incontynente to take a threde to the ad-  
uise of an other, Take good hede Cinci-  
nats

# AVRELIVS.

nate, where as the foundations bee not well edified, the buildynges are in peryll. The downgeon of this worlde, wherein the children of vanities dooe abyde, is founded on the sande. For let it be neuer so sumptuous, yet a lyttell blaste of wynde wyl cause it to shake, and a littell heape of prosperities will open it, and a littell rayne of aduersities will deuide it, and within a short while or space, whan we leaste take hede, it will fall all flatte on the earth. If the pillers bee of siluer, and benches of golde, and though the benchers be kyn- ges, and continue a thousand yere, and rule into the entayles of the earth: yet they can synde no stedfaste rocke nor mountayn, wherein to close the goodes of their predecessours, and their estates perpetuall. The goddes immortal haue made all thynges communicable to men mortall, except immortalitie: and therfore they bee called immortal, by cause they neuer die, & we be called mortall and saylyng, bicause we all take an ende. How stronge so euer the walles bee, yet greate age causeth it to fall to ruine. Two thynges seemeth to bee free, the whiche fortune cannot sette abacke,

M A R C V S.

a backe, nor the tyme cause to be forgotten, and they be these: The good or yll renoume among men, and the payne or rewarde that they that bee good or yll haue of the godds. O my freende Eyncinate, thus atcheueth the persones: but the goddes neuer. What grene or rype, or rotten holdeth any season the fruite of the tree floured? Esteeme it nothyng, because it must die by nature. How be it diuers tymes in leaues and floures we beare the froste of some malady, or the blaste of some enuious mishap. Longe is the webbe in makynge: but it that is made in many daies, is cut a sonder in a moment. Semblably it is a pitious thyng to see a man die with so great trauayle, and to be set in the state of honour, and afterwarde we regardynge neyther the one nor the other, and yet we se it perishe. And without any memozy of any thing abidynge. O my frende Eyncinate, for the loue bestwene vs I pray the, and by the immortal goddes I coniure thee, beleeue not the woylde, the which vnder the coloure of a lyttell golde, hydeth muche filthyness: and vnder coloure of trouth chaungeth vs into a, **Ad**, lies: and for a shorte delite

# AVRELIVS.

belite geueth vs a. 89. displeasures. To  
 them whom it sheweth most loue, it be-  
 gyleth with greatest tromperies, to  
 whom the worlde geueth most goodes,  
 it procureth moste domages: to theim  
 that serueth it with mockeries, it re-  
 wardeth with true recompences: and  
 to theim that loue it truely, it geueth  
 them goodes of mockeries: finally whā  
 we slepe most surest, it waketh vs with  
 great peryll. What wilt thou saie than  
 of the worlde, shewe me? One thyng  
 I wyll tell the, and me thynke thou  
 shouldest not forgette it: and that is,  
 we ought not to beleue the bayne vany-  
 ries that we see with our eyes, rather  
 than the great meruayles that we here  
 with our eares. One thing I haue re-  
 garded, and by long experience I haue  
 knowen it, that but a few houses pain-  
 ted, nor stalles raised vp, we haue sene  
 in Rome: but of a small tyme they take  
 no thought for the walles, but they  
 haue cruell enmities with their neigh-  
 bours, and greate annoy of theyr hey-  
 res, and importunate shame of theyr  
 freendes, and double malice of theyr en-  
 emies, and enuious profite in the se-  
 nate, and somtyme to put a gouernour

M A R C V S

out of possession, thei set foure in honoꝝ:  
and synally all that with great thought  
haue be gathered foꝝ their child, whom  
they loue well with great rest, somtyme  
an other heire enioyeth it, of whome  
they thynke least. It is a iust sentence,  
that suche as beguyle diuers with yll  
deedes in theyꝝ lyfe, should be begyled of  
their vaine thoughtes at their death.  
Cruell shoulde the goddes be, and right  
greuous foꝝ men to suffre, that the yll  
that hath gathered foꝝ one heire in the  
preiudice of dyuers that be good, should  
enioy it many yeres. We thynk it shuld  
be a souerain folý to bee boꝝne wepyng,  
to die sighyng, and to lyue laughyng.  
The rule to gouerne all partes ought  
to be egall. O Cincinate, who hath be-  
gyled the, that foꝝ a potte full of wa-  
ter, thou hast neede of a greatte laake  
of this worlde to passe this wretched  
lyfe? wylt thou flay away the skynne  
of thy handes with the corde of thoug-  
tes, breake thy body in battayle with  
greatte trauayle, and aduenture thine  
honour foꝝ one potte of water? What  
wylt thou moze that I should saie: but  
that to fylle a potte of thy goodes, thou  
wilt suffre a .M. perils. And in the byle  
cxxx

AVRELIVS.

exercisynge of thy marchaundise, thou  
doubtest not for leasyng of thy credence.  
And finally, I sweare to the, thou shalt  
abide dead for thirst, as though there  
were no water in the feldes. If thou  
wylt dooe by my counsaile, desire death  
of the goddes, to rest thee as an aged  
wise man, and demaunde not riches  
to lyue yll as a ponge foole. I haue sore  
wept for many, that I saw in Rome de-  
parted oute of this worlde, and for the  
I haue wepte dropes of bloude, to see  
the retourne newly and vylely to the  
worlde. My amitie and the credite of  
the senate, the bloude of thy predecess-  
sours, the auctoritie of thy person, and  
the honour of the countrey ought to  
refrayne thy couetousnesse. Oh freende  
thy whete heares shewith honour and  
wysedome, the whiche shoulde exercise  
and be occupied in noble deedes. Regard  
it auayleth more to folowe reason by  
the waies of them that be good, than  
the commune opinon, whiche is the  
large waye of them that be yll. For  
though the one be straye for the secte, it  
reisseth no duste for to blinde the eyes as  
the other doeth, to light younge perso-  
nes, the whiche procure lightnes, igno-

M A R C V S

rance excuseth them: but the disordinate  
 couetise of the olde persones causeth  
 theym to occupy theyr lyfe with tra-  
 uaille, & to take death with great annoy-  
 ance, and in the one as well as in the o-  
 ther, abideth greate infamy. **O** Cinci-  
 nate, take this counsaile of a freende:  
 Charge not thy selfe with takynge of  
 these vayne goodes, sythe thou haste so  
 small a morzell of thy lyfe. For suche as  
 thou art, we se consume, and wast, and  
 not so quicken. Put no trust in frendes  
 in the present prosperitie, for it is a pro-  
 nostication of an euill fortune. And  
 syth thou arte in a harsarde lyke a foole,  
 me thynke thou oughtest to discende  
 a foote lyke a sage personne. And thus  
 euery manne wyll say, how Cinci-  
 nate is discended, and not fallen. I wyll  
 say no more, but the goddes be thi saue-  
 garde, and defende bothe thee and me,  
 from gylefull fortune. My wyfe Fau-  
 stine saluteth thee, and she is withdra-  
 wen from me, because I wrot this let-  
 ter to the, and hath couered me to write  
 this word to the, that is, she saith thou  
 oughtest to haue witte whan thy necke  
 is full of heares, and I thynke thou  
 oughtest incontinent to take a barbar,  
 and

AVRELIVS.

and haue a way the heare, that thy lust  
may come forth. I would thy couetise  
should forsake thee, and soly Austine,  
and the goue me, and that sooner our  
soules may departe from our flesh, than  
gile should remayn in our hert. Marc  
of mounte Celio writeth this with his  
hande.

A letter sent fro Marke the Emperour to  
Catulus Censorius, that was sorow  
full for the death of his sonne  
Nerissimus. The  
ryght letter.

**M**Arc censoze new & young, salute  
and reuerence to the Catulus Ce-  
sorious old and auncient. I haue  
written two letters to thee, and thou  
hast made aunswere to none of them. If  
it be because thou couldest not, I holde  
my peate: if it be because thou wouldest  
not, than I complayne me: If it be for  
forgetfulnessse, than I accuse thee: If it  
be because thou settest littell by me, thā  
I dooe appeale thee: If thou hast drea-  
med, that thou hast written: I say, be-  
lene not in dreames: And if thou wilt  
not, it should bayle to gloxifie me as a  
freende,



friend, yet thou mightest take it, write  
 in aduertisynge and repressing as the fa-  
 ther to the sonne, younge vertuous per-  
 sons are bounde to honour auncient wise  
 men, and no lesse old wise men ought to  
 endoctrine the younge people, and very  
 younge as I am. A iust thyng it is, that  
 the newe forces of yonthe supply and  
 serue them that are woꝛne by age. For  
 their longer experience mocketh our ten-  
 der age, and naturall ignoꝛance. Youth  
 is yll appllied, whan it surmounteth the  
 force of the bodie, and sayleth the vertu-  
 es of the soule: and age is honoured,  
 wherin the force dieth outwarde, wher-  
 by vertues quickeneth the more inward.  
 We may see the tree, whan the fruit is  
 gathered, the leaues fall, and whan  
 flowres drie, than more grene and per-  
 fect are the rootes. I meane that whan  
 the first season of youth is passed, whi-  
 che is the summer tyme, than commeth  
 age called winter, and putrifieth the  
 fruite of the fleshe, and the leaues of fa-  
 uour fall, and the flowres of delite are  
 withered, and the vines of hope dried  
 outwarde, than it is right, that muche  
 better are the rootes of good woꝛkes  
 within the good. They that be olde and  
 aunci-

ancient, ought to praise their good woordes, rather than their white beares. For honoz ought to be geue for the good life, and not for the white head. Glorious is that common wealth, and fortunat is that prince, that is lorde of younge men to trauayle, and auncient personnes to counsell. As to regard the susteinyng of the naturalitie of the lyfe, in lyke wise ought to be considered the policie of gouernance, the whiche is, that all the fruites come not drie not al at ones, but whan one begynneth, an other sayleth. And in this maner, ye that be auncient teachyng vs, and wee obedient, as old fathers and young pulletes, beeyng in the nest of the Senate: Of some their feathers fallyng, and other yong feathered, and where as the olde fathers can not flie, they trauayles are mainteigned by theyr tender chyldren. Freende Catulus, I purposed not to wypte one line this yere, because my penne was troubled with thy slouth: but the smalnesse of my spyryte, and the great perill of myne offices alwaies called on me to demaund thy counsell. This priuiledge the olde wise men holde in their houses where they dwel. They ar alwaies lords

MARCVS

ouer theim that be simple, and are sclau-  
 ues to theim that be wyse. I thinke thou  
 hast forgotten me, thynkyng that sith  
 the death of my dere sonne Verissimus,  
 the tyme hath bene, so long that I shuld  
 forget it. Thou hast occasion to thinke  
 so, for many thynges renneth in tyme,  
 that reason can not helpe. But in this  
 case, I can not tell whiche is the great-  
 test, thy trumperie or my dolor. If I were  
 to the by the goddes immortal, that the  
 hungrie wormes in the entrayles of the  
 unhappie childe are not so puissaunt, as  
 are the cruell dolours in the heart of the  
 father sore wounded. And it is no com-  
 parison, for the sonne is deade but one  
 tyme, and the heauy father dyeth every  
 moiment. What wilt thou moze that  
 I shoulde sate? but that one oughte to  
 haue enuye of his death, and compas-  
 sion of my lyfe, because in dying, he ly-  
 ueth, and in liuyng I die. In yll fortu-  
 nes in case of lyfe, and in the subtil ad-  
 uersitees of fortune, where as hir gyles  
 profyteth but little, and hir strenght lesse,  
 I thinke the best remedie is to fele it as  
 a man, and dissimule it as discrete and  
 wise. If all thynges as they be felte at  
 hert, should be shewed outwarde with  
 the

the song. I thynk that the windes shuld  
breake the heart with sighynges, and  
water all the earth with weepynge. O if  
the corporall eyes sawe the hurte of the  
heart with a true wounde, I sweare to  
thee, there they shuld see more of a drop  
of bloudde sweatynge within, than all  
the weepynge that is made outwarde.  
There is no comparison of the greatte  
dolours of the bodie, to the least peyne  
that the spyryte feeleth. For all trauals  
of the bodie, menne make synde some re-  
medie, but if the heauie hert speake, it is  
not heard: if it weepe, it is not seene: if  
it complayne it is not beleued. What  
shall the poore heart dooe? Abhorre the  
lyfe, wherewith it dieth: and desyre  
death, wherewith it lyueth. The high  
vertues among noble vertuous people,  
consisteth not alonely to suffer the pas-  
sions of the bodye, but also to dissimule  
them of the soule. They be suche that al-  
ter the humours, and shewe it not out-  
ward: They bypnye a feuer without al-  
terynge of the poulce: They alter the sto-  
macks: They make vs to kneele to the  
erth, to suffer the water vp to the mouth  
and to take death without leauynge of  
the life: and finally they length our life,

so content that we should haue the more  
 trauaile, and denieth vs our sepulture,  
 so content that we should not rest. But  
 considering, if I be troubled with try-  
 bulations, as well am I let with conso-  
 lations. For euer, I haue either desire of  
 the one, or wretchednesse of the other. I take  
 this remedy to dissimule with the tong,  
 and to wepe with the eyes, and to feele  
 it with the heart. I passe my life, as he  
 that hopeth to lese all that he hath, and  
 neuer to recouer that is lost. I saie this,  
 though ye see me not now make fane-  
 rall weppnges and wailinges, as I did  
 at the death of my sonne: yet thinke not  
 but it dooeth brenne my heart, so that  
 with the inwarde great heate is consu-  
 med the humiditee of the eyes outward,  
 for it brenneth all my spirites inwarde.  
 Thou maiest know what an honoura-  
 ble father suffreth to leese a good child:  
 In all thynges the goddes be lyberall,  
 except in geuyng vs vertuous children.  
 Where there is abundaunce of great es-  
 tates, there is greatest scarcitie of good  
 inheritours. It is a great hurt to heare,  
 and greater to see, howe these fathers  
 climbe to haue richesse, and to see theyr  
 children discende to haue viciousnesse:  
 To

# AVRELIVS.

To see the fathers honor their children,  
and the children to infame their fa-  
thers: yea and the fathers to geue rest to  
the children, and the children to geue  
trouble to theyr olde fathers: yea and  
sometime the fathers die so soone that  
their children die so soone, and we see  
their childre wepe, because their fathers  
die so late. What shuld I say more, but  
that the honour and richesse that the fa-  
thers haue procured with great thought  
the children lose with littell care. I am  
certayne of one thyng, that the fathers  
may gather richesse with strengthe and  
craft, to susteine their children, but the  
goddess will not haue durable, that that  
is begonne with euill intencion, as is  
founded to the pzeiudice of other, and  
is possessed with an euill heyre. And  
though the heauy destinies of the father  
permit, that the richesse be lefte to their  
children, to serue theym in all their vi-  
ces for their pastime, at laste accordyng  
to their merites the goddess wyll that  
the heyre and heritage should peryshe.  
Marke what I say, I had two sonnes,  
Comode, and the prince Merissimus, the  
yonger is dead, that was gretest in ver-  
tue. Alway I imagine, that while the  
good

# M A R C V S

good liued, I should be poore, and now  
that the yll remapneth, I thinke to be  
riche. I shall shewe thee why, the gods  
des are so pitifull, that to a poore father  
they neuer giue yll childe: and to a riche  
father they neuer giue a good childe.  
And as in all prosperitie alwaye there  
salleth some sinister fortune, either sone  
or late, so therewith fortune doeth arme  
and apparell vs, wherin she seeth wee  
shall fall to our greatest hurt. And ther-  
fore the goddes permitte, that the coue-  
tous fathers, in gatherypng with greate  
trauayle, should die with that hurte, to  
leane theyr richesse to their vicious chil-  
dren yll ymplied. I wepe as muche for  
my childe that the goddes haue left me,  
as for him that they haue taken from  
me. For the small estimacion of hym  
that liueth, maketh immortal memory  
of hym that is dead. The yll reste and  
conuersacion of theym that liue, cause  
vs to sigh for the compaignie of theym  
that be dead. The yll is alway desired  
for his ylnesse to be dead, and the good  
alway meriteth to haue his death be-  
wailed. I say my frende Catulus, I  
thought to haue lost my witte, whan I  
saw my sonne Merisime die: but I toke  
com-

AVRELIVS.

comforte agayn: for either he of me, or I  
of him must see the ende, Considerynge  
that the goddes did but lende him to  
me, and gaue him not, and how they  
be inheritors, and I to haue the vse of  
the fruite. For all thyng is mesured by  
the iuste will of the goddes, and not by  
our inordinate willes and appetites.  
I thynke whan they tooke away from  
me my chylde, I restored him to an o-  
ther, and not that they haue taken mine.  
But sithe it is the will of the goddes to  
glue rest to the good childe, and hurte  
the father, because he is yll, I yelde  
thanks to theym: for the season that  
they haue suffred me to enioy his lyfe:  
And for the patience that I haue ta-  
ken for his death, I desire theym to im-  
pitate therewith the chastisements of  
theyr pre. And I desire, sith they haue  
taken away the life from this childe, to  
cause good customes to be in the prynce  
myne other sonne. I know what heu-  
nelle thou haste take in Rome for my  
sorrow. I pray the goddes to send thee  
ioy of thy children, and that I may re-  
ward thee with some ioy, for that thou  
hast wept for my payne. My wyfe Fau-  
stine saluteth thee, and thou wouldest  
haue



M A R C V S.

haue compassion to see hir. For she we-  
peth with hir eyes, and sygheth with  
hir hert, & with hir handes hurterh hir  
selfe, and curseth with hir tong. She ea-  
teth nothyng on the day, nor sleperh  
in the night. She loneth darkenes, and  
abhorreth light, and therof I haue no  
meruayle: for it is reason, that for that  
was nourished in hir entrayles, she  
should fele sorow in the same. And the  
loue of the mother is so stronge, though  
hir childe be dead, and layed in sepul-  
ture, yet alwayes she hath him quicke  
in hir hert. It is a generall rule, that  
the persone, that is intierly beloued,  
causeth ever greate grieve at the death,  
And as for me, I passe the lyfe right  
sorrowfully, though I shew a ioyfull  
face, yet I want mirth at my hert. And  
among wise men beyng sorrowfull, and  
shewing thei? faces mery, is none  
other thyng but buryng the quicke, ha-  
uyng no sepulture. And I sweare by  
the goddes immortall, I feele muche  
more than I haue saied. And dyuers  
times me thynke I should fall downe,  
because I dare not weepe with myne  
eyes, yet I fele it inwardely. I would  
faine comon with the in diuers thiges.  
Come

AVRELIVS.

Come I praise the to Biete, to the extent that we maye speake togyther. And sith it hath pleased the goddes to take my childe from me, that I loved so well, I woulde counsele, with thee, that arte my lounge freende. But se we daies passed, there came hyther an ambassadour fro the Modes, to whom I gave the moste parte of my horses: and fro the farthest parte of Spayne, there were brought me. viii. of whiche I sende the iiii. I would they were suche as might please the. The goddis be thy safegarde, and sende me and my wife some soye. Marcus Aurelius right sorowfull hath writteu this with his owne hande.

A letter sent by Marc the emperour,  
to Marcurino beyng at Sanny.

nowe called Benaunte.

The. ix. letter.

**M**y speciall freende and aunciente  
compaignion, a messenger of  
thine, and a lackey of mine, went  
out together at Capue, the one bare  
my desyre and affection to thee, and  
the other brought a letter to me,  
And if thou looke well, thou mayest  
see

M A R C V S.

se my heart, as full of thoughtes, as I  
 se thy letter full of complayntes. Thou  
 dooest sende to comfort me in my feuer  
 terciane, I thanke the greatly thereof,  
 and it is come in good leason. For the  
 goyng of the feuer out of my poulse, and  
 the ioy of thy letter to my spyryte, is  
 all one. And surely if this case be leste  
 in my hand, and that my feuer retourne  
 not, I han thy consolacion shall serue.  
 To beholde the mysery of man, that pre-  
 sumeth to take amay realmes from o-  
 ther, and yet can not take the feuer out  
 of my bones. Thou knowest well, that  
 we loue together, and of a longe season  
 thyne amytie hath trusted in me. My  
 trowth byndeth me, that thyne ylls  
 shoulde be mine, and my goodes thine.  
 And there is true loue, where bee two  
 bodies seperate, and but one herte to-  
 gyther. And there is but a bytter loue,  
 where the heartes bee as ferre asonder,  
 as the straungenesse of their personnes.  
 Take heede I pray the, that our loue  
 be not inueniomed with vnkindnes, nor  
 oure remembraunce enpoysoned with  
 small thoughtes, and I beyng an other  
 than thou art here, and thou beyng an  
 other than I am there, in maner that  
 mine

AVRELIVS.

mine absence with thy presence, and my  
presence with thy absence, maie speake  
together. Thy messenger hath shewed me  
the losse of thy goodes, and by thy letter  
I knowe the angusty of thy person. And  
it hath bene shewed me, that thou haste  
had a shippe perished, and that thy fac-  
tours, lyke wyse men, to saue theyr per-  
sons, did throwe thy marchandysse in to  
the sea. We thinke, thy shippe hath eased  
the of thy charge. But I thinke as it se-  
meth by the, they threw not so many  
fardels into the sea, as thoughtes into  
thy hert. And accordyng as thou were  
before, I shoulde be more bounde to ser-  
che for thy leade and tyn, than for thy  
hert. Thy lead is sonken to the bottom,  
but thy counsell is spredde a brode ouer  
all the worlde. If thou shouldest now  
die, and thy body be opened, of trouth,  
I thinke, that thy hert shoulde be rather  
founde drowned with thy leade, than  
a lyue with thy bodye. O *Mercurius*,  
at this houre thou feelest no malady of  
any fener tertian, as I doe, for the hert  
of thy bodye, and the dolour of thy spy-  
rite, causeth the to haue a quartayne.  
And this euill is not in the bodye, but  
in the shippe, not on the earth, but in the

sea, not with phisicians, but philoso-  
 phiers. I counsaile the to seeke helth :  
 For there thy lyfe is drowned, where  
 thy leade is sonken. Be not angry, for  
 though thou hast not thy leade with the,  
 the leade hath the with it. Ofte tymes  
 auarice seketh out the auaricious, and  
 sometyme the auaricious seke auarice.  
 It is thewed me, thou art sorry, because  
 thy damage can haue no remedye : and  
 doest thou not know, that where no re-  
 medy is, thou oughtest to take patience?  
 O Mercurius, now thou knowest, that  
 whan thou diddest aduenture thy goo-  
 des to the suspicious rockes, and thy  
 despyres to the deepe waues of the sea,  
 and thy couragious auarice to the im-  
 portunate wyndes, and thy leade to  
 straunge waters, and as ioyous and de-  
 syrous as thy factours wente forth in  
 trust of wyynyng, as muche now thou  
 art sure of the losse : and thus in thy de-  
 sire drowned, & thy hope scaped. Doest  
 thou not remember, that Socrates ca-  
 styng into the sea, not leade, but golde,  
 not a littell, but a great deale, not goo-  
 des of other mens, but of his owne, not  
 by fortune, but by his wisdom, saied,  
 I wpll drowne these gylefull riches,

AVRELIVS.

to the entent that they shal not browne  
me: But I thynke, if a man should se  
thee dooe so, he should here thee say: O  
my swete riches, I had rather browne  
my selfe, than other should browne you:  
This auncient wise man durst not trust  
in golde, and thou wilt trust on leade:  
caste lottes amonge your goddes, he of  
Athenes, and thou of Rome, whiche of  
you hath most sayled, or els is mooste as-  
sured: he that casteth his golde from the  
earth, into the sea, or els thou that wol-  
dest bryng the lead out of the sea vppon  
the erth: I know, that the auncient Ro-  
mains wyll say, it is he, and the present  
rouetous folke wyll say, it is thy selfe.  
and I thynke in this thou arte dispra-  
sed in the praise therof, and the dispra-  
sed is allowed of all men. Thy messenger  
tolde me, that thou werte right sorowful  
and heauy, and criest out in the night, cal-  
lynge on the goddes, and wakest thy  
neighbours, complaynyng on fortune.  
I am sore displeased for thy heauynesse,  
bycause sorowe is nexte frende to thy  
solitarynesse, and enemy to company,  
and heyre of desperacion. I am sorowful  
for thy crynges in the night, for it in-  
duceth solow, For the night coueryng all

the worlde with derkenesse, thou alone  
 wilt discouer thy hert with crynges.  
 I am not pleased, that thou complaineest  
 vpon the goddess, bycause they haue ta-  
 ken some thyng fro thee: bycause thou  
 that were a losse, they haue brought  
 lower: for I am not pleased, that thou  
 awakest thy neighbours for thy riches,  
 that caused them to enuy thee: thy pa-  
 cience should moue them to compassion.  
 No: I am not content, that thou shouldest  
 so complayne on fortune: for the  
 thyng so well knowen of many, should  
 not be infamed by one alone. ¶ Mer-  
 curious remēbre, that with them, with  
 whome truce is taken, thou wilt entre  
 agayne into the fielde of defiance. We  
 vnbende, and thou wilt spend thy spea-  
 res. Thou neuer camest into the fielde,  
 and yet thou wouldest enioy the try-  
 umph. Al be stopped, and thou wouldest  
 passe surely. Thou yeldest thy self to for-  
 tune, and doest thou not know, how she  
 beatech downe the high wailles, and de-  
 fendeth the olde rotten houses, and peo-  
 pleth where there lacketh people, and  
 vnpeople where as people be: Of ene-  
 mies she maketh freendes, and of fren-  
 des enemies, and disposleth the banqui-  
 shers

thers, and crowmeth theym that be overcome. Of traytours she maketh true men, and true men she maketh suspect persons. And finally, fortune is. suche a maistresse, that she ruleth realmes, overcommeth armies, beateth downe kynges, exalteth tyrantes, to the dead she geueth lyfe, and to some renoume, and to some shame. Why stickest thou to hir? doest thou not remembre the worde, that the kyng of the Lacedemoniens had at his gate, saynge: This house is at the puttyng down of fortune. In good sooth these were high wordes, and of great vnderstandynge, he knew fortune muche better than thou, sithe he reckeneth his house at Fortunes disposition, and not for inheritaunce. And if he had losse any thyng, as thou haste doen, he thought, that she restored it to other as theirs, and had not taken his. Reason holdeth confidēce, to argue thy reason, by that she disposeth thee fro thy height to be an heriter: for he that liueth, heriteth death, and not death the life, for all dieth, and it heriteth all in their life. Wilte thou take vengeance, of that hath geuen thee so much peine. Therfore take this counsell: be



# MARCVS

freend to fortunes enemye, the which is  
the graue: Ouer them that be born, and  
not ouer them that die, is hir Emppye.  
Oh how many great lordes haue bene  
the thoughtes of thy hearte, so as many  
wozmes shalbe in thine entrailes: what  
greater victoꝝ may be, than she that  
ouercommeth all liuers, shalbe vanqui-  
shed of the alonely by death. I saye one  
thyng to thee, that all onely he that is  
closed in his graue, is assured of all  
thynges of this lyfe. Thy messenger shew-  
wed me, that this sommer thou woul-  
dest come to Rome, and nowe that it  
is winter, thou wilt saile into Alexan-  
drie. O my freend Mercurio, whan thy  
life shal weth to an ende, thou beginnest  
to be auaricious. Thou shalt finde two  
citties in this worlde, in two extremiti-  
es, Rome the head of vice, and Alex-  
andrie the ende of all vertues. I say of  
thy marchaundise, in Rome thou doest  
charge thy body with vices, and in A-  
lexandrie thy heart with thoughtes. I  
swear by the oth of a iust mā that thou  
shalt haue more desire of that thou lea-  
nest, than contentacion of that thou bea-  
rest away. Thou Remembrest not, how  
it is winter, and thou must passe the sea  
and

and but if the pilotes lie to me, the calam-  
 selson most sure, is the vigile of the more  
 vnfortune. Thou wilt saie, thy shippes  
 be voyde, and therfore thei shal go more  
 surely. I beleue they shal go more char-  
 ged with anarpyce, than thei shal come  
 with silke. O what a good chaunge shal  
 it bee, if the anarice of Italie might be  
 changed for silke of Alexandry. I know  
 surely their silke wil lade a ship, and our  
 auarice will lade a hole fleete. Great is  
 that couetpse, whiche the shame of the  
 world doth not reprene, nor the feare of  
 death stoppe, nor reason appoinct. I say  
 it, because that he, which in suche a time  
 offereth him selfe to peryll, either coue-  
 tise surmounteth him, oz els vnderstand-  
 dyng faileth him. And because I can  
 finde none other excuse sufficient to ex-  
 cuse me to the, but that thou art as mu-  
 che known by the sea, as vnknown to  
 the goddis, that is, the vnstable waues  
 know the wretched hert and vnrestfull,  
 and the hard rockes vnruly me: and one  
 winde knoweth an other winde. I pray  
 the shew me, what thou wilt go serchee  
 Wilt thou go into the gulse of Arpyno,  
 for to seeke thy leade: Than take hede,  
 and thinke, how the fishe hath eaten thy

# MARCVS

harde leade, and lette them not eate thy  
soft fleſhe. Thou wilt peraduenture goe  
ſeeke thy goodes with peryll of thy lyfe,  
and to leaue renoume at thy death.

Knoweſt thou not, that ſuche renoume,  
is a ſalue for a reuine, a baume for a  
ſwoynyng, lyght to a blynd perſon, a  
nyghtyngale to the deaſe: I will diſco-  
uer the embuſhement, er thou fall ther-  
in. Thou ſekeſt thought for thy ſelfe,  
enue for thy neighbours, ſpurres for  
thyne ennemies, wakyng for theues,  
perill for thy body, damnacion for thy  
renoume, the endyng of thy lyfe, flight  
of thy frendes, proceſſe for thy chil-  
dren, and curſyng for thyne heyres. And  
becauſe the ſeuer haſteth toward me,  
I leaue my penne to wyte any more.

My wyfe faultine ſaluteth the and is  
ſore diſpleaſed for thy loſſe. I ſende  
thee a prouiſion, to the entent that a  
ſhyppmate be geuen thee, bycauſe thou  
ſhouldeſt not loſe thy wytte. If thou be  
in Alexandrie, returne not by Rhodes,  
leaſt the Pyrates take the. The goddes  
bee thy ſafegarde, and ſende me and o-  
ther good lyfe, and good name with  
ſtraungers.

A letter

# AVRELIVS.

A letter sent by marke thempereour to Antigonus, comfortyng hym in sorowfull case. The .x. letter.



Me Pretor Romaine, Edile, Censorine, compaignion of thempire, to the Antigonus banished, sendeth greting to thy part, and good hope of the Senate. To me beyng in Campayn, thy heuy case was shewed, and at this howre in the temple of iupiter was thy pitiefull letter deliuered me. I feele as much as thou felest, and am hurt with as many woundes. As thou art separate fro thy neighbours, so in lyke wyse I am banished from my wyttes: and I weepe at this howre for thee, as thou in my trauails hast wept for me: and now I feele for the, as thou hast felt for me. For to frendes afflicted with sorow, we ought to geue remedie to their persons, and consolacion and compassion to their heartes. I sweare to the by the lawe of good men, in this case I haue not beene vncourteise of auncient tyme, nor cruell at this tyme, to feele it. As I redde the lynys of thy letter, I coulde not holde  
 If v my

# MARCVS

my handes from shakynge, noz my heart  
from sighynge, noz mine eye from we-  
pyng, to see the small thyng that thou  
sendest to demaunde, and muche more  
for lacke of power to send to thee. The  
greatestt infortune of all infortunes is,  
whan a man maie do littell, and would  
doe muche. And the greatestt fortune of  
all fortunes is, whan a manne may do  
muche, and will doe but littell. In this  
I will see, if thou hast forgotten our  
amitie, and aduenturest at one tyme,  
that I haue trusted in the diuers times.  
Thou knowest well, that in the yong  
daies of my youth, all thinges were dis-  
charged from my hert, and charged them  
to thyne vnderstandynge. Than it is a  
fust thyng, that thy traunyles should be  
discharged from thy wyll, and charged  
vpon my hert. And in this maner, thou  
and other, shall see and heare, that my  
hands shalbe as ready to remedy the, as  
my teares of weepynge are for thy dam-  
mage. Now come to the rest of euill for-  
tune. Thou geuest me knowlage, that  
the goddes haue taken a doughter fro  
thee: And the monstruouse earthquake  
hath throwen downe thy house, and the  
senate hath geuen a sentence against the,  
wher

AVRELIVS.

wherby thy gooddes are losse, and thy  
 person banished. The goddes be to me  
 as propice and mecke, as they haue ben  
 cruell to thee. I am soze abashed of that  
 my spirite hath conceiued in this, as of  
 the losse, that thou and thy wyfe haue  
 felt: yet am I not abashed of the mon-  
 ster that feareth the people, nor of the  
 tremblyng, that hath shaken down thy  
 houses, nor of the fyre that hath brente  
 thy gooddes, nor of the goddes that haue  
 permitted suche thynges to fall: But  
 I am abashed, that there is so muche  
 malice in thee, and in thy neyghbours:  
 for the whiche iustly ye dooe deserue  
 to haue so horrible and cruell chastise-  
 mentes. Beleue me in one thyng Ant-  
 rigonus, and doubte it not, if men liued  
 lyke men, and chaunged not the rule of  
 conditours, the goddes woulde than be  
 alwayes as goddes, , not to cause vs  
 to bee borne of our mothers, to gyue  
 vs so cruell chastisementes by the hande  
 of monstrous bestes. Certaynly it is  
 iuste and mooste iuste, that brute bea-  
 stes be chastised by other brute bestes,  
 and the monstrous, by other monste-  
 rous bestes, and such as offend with  
 greate faultes, to bee punished with  
 greate

# MARCVS

great peines . I say to thee one thinge,  
the which seemeth a new thing to thee,  
and that is this, the yuell personnes of-  
fende moze by infamy, than the goddes  
geue them peine for it, rather thā for the  
offence that is committed againg them  
As the Goddes naturally be pitifull,  
and alway haue the name therof, so we  
are alwayes euill, and our euilnesse and  
shamefull woorkes deserue to haue soze  
chastisement . The symple folkes call  
the goddes cruell, in that they see theyr  
chastisement openly, and for they se not  
our secrete ylnesse. Than the gods haue  
reason to complaine, bycause we with  
our sinnes offende theym, and they by  
our cruelnesse are infamed. An inestable  
rule it is, that the pitifull goddes dooe  
not punish the extremely with extreme  
chastisements, sith that first the vici-  
ous men do extremeli with extreme vi-  
ces . The time that Camillus was ba-  
nished Capue, and that the French men  
possessed Rome , Lucius Clarus Con-  
sull was sent by the Senate to the ora-  
cle of Apollo, to demand counsell, what  
the Romayne people should doo to bee  
deliuered out of their great peryll . And  
there this consule was .xl. daies with  
in

A V R E L I V S.

In the temple on his knees before Apollo, offering right strange sacrifices, and shedde many teares with wepyng, and yet he could haue none answer: and so with no small inconueniences he returned to Rome. Than the holy senate sente out of euery temple two priestes, and whan they were prostrate on the erthe, Apollo saied: As one beginnyng is correspondent to an other beginnyng and one place to an nother, Meruayle thou not, though by the reason of an extreme demaunde, I shewed my selfe extreme to answer. Ye Romaines, sith ye sayle men, ye come to seke to the goddes. For the occasion wherof, we wyl giue you no good counsel whan ye haue neede, nor permitte that men should fauour you, whan ye go to seke for theim. Regard my freendes, not for the sacrifices, that ye haue offered to me, but for the amitie, that I haue had with your fathers in time past, I will discouer to you a secrete, the whiche is, that ye shall say to the Romaynes from me seuen thynges. The fyrst is, let neuer man leaue the goddes for an nother man, for feare that the goddes departe fro the miserable manne in his most greatest neede.



M A R C V S.

·necessitie. The. ii. is, that more aua-  
 leth to holde the part of one of the god-  
 des immoꝛtall, that is in heauen, than  
 with all the moꝛtall men in the woꝛlde.  
 The thirde is, that men shoulde beware  
 to annoy the goddes: for the yꝛe of the  
 goddes doth more damage than the ini-  
 quitie of all men. The iiii. is, the god-  
 des neuer forget a man at any time, but  
 yf the goodes be forgotten by manne a  
 thousand time. The. v. is, that the god-  
 des do suffre, that one shalbe persecuted  
 by an other that is yll, so they haue first  
 persecuted one that is good. And there-  
 fore ye are stricken with the seates of  
 the Frenchemen: bycause ye haue per-  
 secuted and banished Camillus your  
 naturall neighbour. The first is, if the  
 men will haue the goddes favourable  
 in the tyme of warre, they muste serue  
 theym first in tyme of peace. The .vii.  
 is, that the pitifull goddes sendeth not  
 to any realme some extreme chastise-  
 ment, but if it be for some extreme offen-  
 ces committed in the same realme. And  
 shew to the senate, that I would make  
 none aunswere to Lucius Clarus, by-  
 cause they sent so yll a man to theyꝝ god  
 Apollo, as ambassadour, the whiche  
 they

A V R E L I V S.

they ought not to haue doone. Ye Ro-  
maines take this counsaile of me, and if  
ye fynd it yll, take no more of me, In a  
strange message sende alwaies the most  
eloquent men, and in your senate set the  
wisest men. And commytte your ho-  
stes to baliant capitaynes: and to your  
goddis sende alwaie the moste innocent  
men. The iuste goddes neuer appeale  
their pzes agaynst vniuste men: but yf  
the requyzers be very innocēt and meke.  
For a foule vessell is not made cleane  
but with faire water. For with foule  
handes it is harde to make the vessell  
cleane. The goddis be so iust, that they  
will not geue iust thinges but by the ha-  
des of iust men. Finally I saie, if ye  
wyl driue the frenchemen your ennies  
out of your landes, fyrst cast out the pas-  
sions fro your hertes. Thinke for trou-  
the, that the goddes wyl neuer dryue  
your ennemies out of Italie, till Camil-  
lus and all the gyltlesse that be banis-  
shed, be returned agayne to Rome. Cer-  
tenly the cruell warres that the goddes  
permit at this time pset, is but a war-  
nyng of the chastisementes for offences  
passed. For that the yll men haue doone  
to the innocentes in diuers dates, after  
by

## M A R C V S.

by the handes of other that be yll, the  
 paiement is made in one daie. This an-  
 swere Apollo made to the priestes fla-  
 minns, that were sente to hym out of  
 Rome, whiche thynge made the senate  
 sore abashed. I remembre, that in the  
 booke of the aunswere of the goddes, in  
 the annales of the capitoll, there I found  
 it: the whiche booke the fyrste daie of e-  
 uery moneth was redde by a senatour,  
 befoze all the other senatours of the se-  
 nate. Therfoze freende Antigonus, as  
 the god Apollo saied, yf thou wylt not  
 beleue me, that am thy freende, beleue  
 the god Apollo. O Antigonus, beholde  
 how the vnderstandyng of vayne men  
 ar but beastly to the spyrytes of the god-  
 dis, whiche are secrete and hydde: and  
 where as they speake, all other ought  
 to be styll. For one counsaile of the  
 goddis is more worth in mockery, than  
 all the counselles of men, though they  
 be neuer so earnest. Of whense thynkest  
 thou that this commeth? I shall shewe  
 the: The goddes are so perfyte in all  
 bountie, and so wyse in all wyse-dome,  
 and we are so yll in all malice, and so  
 simple in all simple nesse, that though  
 they would erre, they can not, because  
 they

AVRELIVS.

they be goddis : and we that woulde be assured, erre, because we bee men. And herein I see what a brute beast man is : for all these mortall men are so entier in their owne wylles, that they wyl lose more in folowynge their owne opinion, than wyne by the counsaile of an other man : and that worst of all is, they take so the bitte in the teeth in doyng pyle, that there is no bydle that can restrain them. And they are so slow to doe well, that there is no pricke nor spurre that can drive them forwarde. Thou doest complayne of the pittifull goddess, and of the sacrate senate. Also thou complaynest of ioyfull fortune. Three thynges there be, that one of them is enough with one stroke of a stone, to take away thy lyfe, and bury thy renoume. And whan eche of them hath drawen the apart, than altogether will strike on thee with stones. Thou hast taken greates copetitous, and yet I know not what thy worthynesse is, I shall shew the some strengthes and valiantnes that the ancient barons had, and therby thou shalt see, what they of this worlde doth holde. The felow of Scipio Nasica, tooke a serpent in the mountaines of Egypt,

Eg

which

# M A R C V S

whiche after it was slaine, flayed, and the skyn measured in the field of Mars, it was sixe score foote of length. Hercules of Thebes proued his force with the serpent Hydra, And in stryking of one of his heades, there sprange out seuen other heades.

**C**yclon the gyaunte, to exercise his strength was accustomed euery daie to ouertake a bul with renning a fote, and caste him downe, and he made manie courses with the bull, as it were an other naked younge man: and yet, that was more meruaile, he with one stroke of his fyft, slew the bull, and the same day would eate hym all together.

**O**n mount Olympe Cerastus the gyant of the nacion of Greece, was asked with mo than fifty. M. men, and none coulde styre nor shake hym. And if Homer begyleth vs not in this gyaunt, he was of suche fame and dedes, that euery foure yeres, ther was a custome, that al nations of the world went to wassele at mount Olimpe. And therof came the reckenyng of the Olympiades.

**I**n the seconde warre punike among the captiues of sorowfull Carthage, Scipion brought a man, a lord of Mauritan

# AVRELIVS.

Ullayne, right stronge and fierse to be-  
holde: and in celebratyng a spectacle  
in the palays of Rome, whiche was  
than of great renoume, there were in-  
numerable beastes runne at. This cap-  
tue prisoner lept into the parke, and kil-  
led twoo beares, and wraffled with a  
lyon a great while: finally beyng so  
hurt with the lyons pawes, he strango-  
led the lyon with his handes. Thys  
was a monstruous thing to se, and now  
it semeth incredible to be beleued.

In the yere. CCC. xx. of the founda-  
tion of Rome, Lucio Leden, a renou-  
med capytayne comyng from Tarent a-  
gaynst Pyrrus kyng of the Epirotes: he  
was the firste that brought. iiii. Oly-  
phantes to Rome, the day of his tri-  
umph. Stages and places were made  
for. xxx. M. men to see the rennyng of  
these Oliphantes, and in the middes of  
the pastime, the planks brake and slew  
mo than. v. M. persones. And amonge  
them there was Numatian, the whiche  
bare vpon his shoulders a planke with  
mo than three hundred men, till that he  
and they were succoured.

Gaius Cesar beyng yong, fleyng the  
company of Spila, bycause he was  
Bgi per

# M A R C V S

pertelgnyng to Marius, he being among the Ithobiens, wouan his meat with coursyng and runnyng of horses, with his handes bounde behynde him. It was a monstrous thyng to see, as the annales witnesse, how he would guide the horses with his knees so fast, as though he had drawen them with the reynes of their bridels.

**I**n the .xv. yere that the capitaine of Carthaginense entred into Italy, our aunciente fathers sent to the realme of Frigie for the goddes Berecinthia, mother of the goddes, and whan she arriued at the porte Hostie, the shippe that she came in, ranne vpon the sande, and by the space of .iiii. daies. xx. .iiij. menne, that came in the army, coulde not remoue it: by chaunce came thither one of the virgynes Vestales named Lea, whiche with hir gyrdell tied to the shippe, drew it to the lande as easlye as she wold haue drawen a threde from the distaffe. And to the entent that we should beleue suche thynges, as we here wer doen in times past, we may knowe it by deedes doen presently in our daies. I remembre whan my lord Adrian came fro Dacie, he did celebrate  
a spec

# AVRELIVS.

a spectacle in Rome, wherein there was  
 mo than two thousande wilde beastes,  
 and the thyng moſte notable that we  
 haue ſene, there was a knight bozne by  
 the riuer Danubio, who tooke a horſe,  
 and ranne into the parke, and ſlew ſo  
 many wyld beaſtes, that there fled fro  
 him Lyons, Leopar-des, Beares, Oly-  
 phantes, and we did flee fro them: and  
 he ſlew mo of them then they did of mē.  
 Theſe ſtraunge thynges I haue recited  
 to thee, that of all theſe I am not ſo a-  
 baſhed, as I am of thee, to ſee the redie  
 to dooe armes agaynſt the goddes, and  
 agaynſt the Senat, & agaynſt fortune.  
 Theſe three are gyantes in vertuous va-  
 liauntſie, and happie at all times: and  
 they be ſuch as commaunde them that  
 commaunde other. The goddes by their  
 naturalitie and power, cloſe by the ſu-  
 ries, and gouerne the ſterres. And the ſe-  
 nate with their iuſtice ouercometh real-  
 mes, and ſubdueth tyrantes: and For-  
 tune with hir tyranny taketh them that  
 they leaue, and leaueth them that they  
 take, and honoreth theim that they di-  
 ſhonour, and chaſtiſeth them that ſerue  
 hir: ſhe begyleth euery perſon, and no  
 perſon beguileth hir: ſhe promiſeth much,



# MARCVS

and fulfilleth nothyng, hir song is weep-  
 pyng, and hir wepyng is song, to them  
 that be dead amonge wormes, and to  
 them that lyue in fortune: at them that  
 be present, she spurneth with hir fete,  
 and threatneth them that be absent. All  
 wise men shrink from hir, but thou like  
 a foole she west hir thy face. Of one thing  
 I am ashamed of thee, to complayne of  
 the senate, and yet I meruaile not: for  
 in conclusion they be but menne: yet of  
 trouth in thynges of iustice they ought  
 to be more than men. And to complain  
 on fortune, I meruayle not a litle: for  
 in thend fortune is fortune among mo-  
 rall men, And all the heavens is of an  
 auncient quarell, and whan we are be-  
 set with most greattest quarelles, than  
 she striketh vs with most greuous hur-  
 tes. I haue great wonder, that thou be-  
 pyng a Romain, complainest on the gods,  
 as if thou were one of the Barba-  
 riens. We Romaines are not so muche  
 renoumed amonge all nacions for the  
 multitude of realmes, that we haue  
 ouercome, as we are for the great chur-  
 ches and seruices that we haue made.  
 Thou complaynest how the gods haue  
 broken thy houses with an earthquake,  
 and

and haue slaine thy doughter, felow in  
thy banishment, and all in one daie:  
But thou dooest not remember the of-  
fences that thou hast committed in dy-  
uers cases. O my freende Andrigonus,  
thou knowest not, that out of our yll  
processe commeth forth good senten-  
ces, and thou knowest not, that our wic-  
ked woorkes are but awakyng of true  
iustice. Knowest thou not that the fierce  
chastismentes, is but a preke that hasteth  
the great comminges of our young de-  
sires: and knowest thou not, that it is  
nothyng that the goddes dooe chastyse  
openlye, to that thei doe dissimule in se-  
crete: Dost thou not knowe, that in  
conclusion the goddes be goddes, and  
the mortals are mortals, and thei maie  
doe vs moze good in one daie, than we  
can do seruice in a.C.CC.yere. Dost thou  
not know, that the least yll doen by the  
handes of the pitifull goddes, is moze  
goodnesse than all the wealth that may  
come by the handes of the cruell men?  
Than wherof doest thou complayne? I  
praise the be still. And sith thou art amōg  
straungers, suffer. And thou wilt haue  
honour, dishonour not the goddes of the  
Romains. For the uniait men doe great

# MARCVS

In iustice to speke yll of them that be iust,  
 and specially of the goddes, for they are  
 most iust. Certainly as Cicero saith,  
 the greatest faute in a man that is good  
 is to approue the yll rather than the  
 good, and the most greatest euyl in an  
 yll man, is to condemne the good for the  
 yll. Thou knowest not how iust the gods  
 be, Of trouth they chaunge not for  
 any praiser, nor leaue not for any threate-  
 nynges, nor mocke not by wooordes, nor  
 be not corrupt with giftes. Great ought  
 thine offence to be, fith the earth hath  
 taken vengeance for the goddes: and thy  
 innocent doughter hath payed the fault,  
 for the offence of hir father. O Antigo-  
 nus, dooest thou not knowe, that in all  
 thynges the goddes maie worke after  
 theyr owne opinion and wyll, except in  
 iustice: for in that they be goddes of all,  
 they ought to be egall to all. And if theyr  
 bountie dooeth bynde them to rewarde  
 vs for goodnes, no lesse their iustice con-  
 streineth the to chastise vs for our ylles.  
 It is a great custome, and a righteous  
 iustice. He that willingly draweth to  
 sinne, against his will is drawe to pain.  
 I saie it because thy doughter hath leste  
 to doe some good openlie, or els she hath  
 doen

AVRELIVS.

When some secrete pill, sitth in hir yowth;  
 hir lyfe is bereued from hir father for  
 ensample of chastisement in other. And  
 in the end of thy letter thou complaineest  
 that the payne that men doe to thee, is  
 moze greater than thoffences that thou  
 hast dooen to the goddes. And if it bee  
 thus freend Antigone, thou oughtest to  
 haue no displeasure, but pleasure, no he-  
 uinnesse but ioye. And I sweare to the by  
 the immortall goddes, I would gladly  
 chaunge my lybertee for thy captiuitie,  
 and the state of Rome for the banishe-  
 ment of Sicile. And I shal tell the why:  
 He is honoured among them that be ho-  
 noured, that fortune abateth without  
 fault: and he is shamed among them  
 that be shamed, that fortune enhaun-  
 ceth without merite. For the shame is  
 not in the inconueniences that are doen  
 to vs by men, but it is of the offence that  
 we commit agaynst the goddes. And in  
 lyke case, the honorable honour resteth  
 not in the dignities that we haue, but  
 in the good workes, wherby we merite.  
 And thereby the wordes seme true, that  
 the. xi. Emperour of Rome bare writ-  
 ten in a ryng on his synger, which said  
 thus: Moze is he to be honoured, that

# M A R C V S

deserueth honour, than he that hath it,  
and deserueth it not. These wordes are  
greatly to bee noted, and spoken by a  
great lord. Than returne to the pour-  
pose. Thou complaineest of the wronges  
and griefes that men doe to menne, and  
leaueth the goddess. I haue no meruayle,  
for as the goddess doe neuer vniust thin-  
ges, so the men neuer lightly dooe any  
thyng iuste. Note this that I saie, and  
forget it not. The senate geueth an o-  
pen peyn, and publisheth the secrete fault  
in suche maner, that with the peyn they  
hurte vs, and with the fault they shame  
vs. The goddess are moze pytyfull: for  
though they geue vs peine, yet thei kepe  
the fault close. A my freende Antigone,  
though the goddess gather together the  
slouth and wickednes, that we commit  
secretlie. Beleue me, and doubt not, the  
goddess geue lyfe to many, the whiche  
men bereneth. Therefore I thinke, that  
thou shuldest thinke and wishe, that sith  
the goddess haue suffered the ylls that  
thou hast doen secretely, that thou must  
suffer open chastisement, that men haue  
geuen to thee. For other wyse thinkyng  
to put awaie the peyne, thou shalt abide  
charged with infamie. I haue written  
to

# AVRELIVS.

to thee this long epistle, to the intent that thou shouldest haue some thyng to passe the tyme with. Certaynly the greatest easement to ease him that is in trauail, is to exercise the waueryng heart with some good occupacions. I wyl write no more to thee at this tyme, but as touching thy banishment, trust me I shal brynge thee at one with the Senate. I sende Panutius my secretary to thee, geue as muche credence to his woozdes as to my letter, and he bringeth a gown to thee. And therewith my herte and wil for to comfozte thee. Salutation, peace and good age be with thee, and the pre of the goddes and yl fortune be separate fro me, Marc my howshold, wyfe and children salute thee as thyne owne. And we salute all thy family as our owne. Though the halfe of my letter be not of my hand, comfozt thee, for my hearte is entierly thyne. Thou knowest how I was greuouly hurte in the warres of Dacie in my hande, and in moist weathers one of my fingers sleepeth. Thus I make an ende as alwayes thyne own.

Can

# MARCVS

In other letter sent by Marke the emperour to the same Antigonus as  
gagynst cruell Judges.

The.xi. letter.



Marke the sick man, to the Antigonus banished, desireth salute for him, and rest for thee. To eschewe the enuious trauailes of Rome, and to see certain bookes of Hebrewe, that were brought to me fro Helia, I came hither to Sannia: I made great hast in my iourneies how be it at Salon the feuer tooke me: and the.xx. day of Iune I receiued thy second letter, and the same houre the feuer quartein tooke me. I thinke none of vs both had the better hand. For neither my longe letter did put away thy trauaile, nor thy short letter did put away my feuer. And though as now the length of thy trauaile minissheth that I had, the more brenneth the desire to remedy thee. Therfore I wyl say some thyng to thee, but not that I fynde any consolacion that thou hast nede therof. In the lawe of Rhodes I haue founde these wordes: We commaunde, that  
none

# AVRELIVS.

none be so hardy to giue counsaile with  
out remedy: for the wordes to him that  
is in trouble geueth small consolacion,  
whan there is no remedy. Also the hart  
that is in sorow, hath more resse the  
wyng his own greues, than hearynge  
the consolacion of other. Thou saiest in  
thy letter, that the censores are righte  
rygourous in that realme: and therefore  
all that nation hath yll wyll with the  
Senate. I beleue well, they haue good  
occasion thereof, for dishonoured men  
make the ministers of iustice to be rigo-  
rous, and namely they of that yle.  
For there is an auncient prouerbe, that  
saith, Apyghtly all these ylles are yll,  
and these Sicillians worst of all. Now  
a dayes the yll are myghty in theyr yll-  
nes, and the good with theyr vertues ar  
kepte so close, that yf there be not some  
bydell by iustice, the yll should possesse  
all the worlde, and the good shoulde sy-  
nne shortly. But synally to consyder  
how vnable we be borne, and are enuy-  
ronned with so many ylles, beyng sub-  
iect to so many miseries, I meruayle  
not of the inhumanities that y<sup>e</sup> homain  
people committeth: but I am ashamed  
of the cruell sentence that our Censo-  
res



# M A R C V S.

res doe, not as Romaines, but as cruell  
 tyrantes. Of one thyng I am soze aba-  
 shed and greatly it troubleth my wit-  
 tes, seyng naturally and of right, the  
 iustice of the goddes is good, and we of-  
 fendyng them, and that haue Justice  
 but lent to vs, yet we glorify vs to bee  
 cruell: so that the goddes do pardon in-  
 iuries doen to them, wherby fame of  
 mekenesse abideth to them, and we cha-  
 stise the iniuries of other, wherby we  
 wyne the fame of tyrantes. In good soth  
 ther is no mā among mē, noz humain  
 among the humaines, but he is a brute  
 beast, and wilde among wilde beastes,  
 that nameth him selfe to be of the fleshe:  
 and hath no pitie to hurte other fleshe:  
 Noz considereth not, that the goddes  
 haue made him a meke beast and lowly  
 by nature, and he becometh a fiers fers  
 pent by malice. In the. xii. yere of the  
 foundation of Rome, Romulus the first  
 kyng, sent a commandement into al pla-  
 ces and realmes nigh to hym: as to the  
 Volgues, Samites, and Ausiens, to  
 Capue, Tarentis, and Albanois: to the  
 entent that all suche as were banished  
 troubled and persecuted in theyr real-  
 mes, shoulde come to Rome, and there  
 they

AVRELIVS.

that should be receiued and well entrea-  
 ted: and except the histories lye, Rome  
 was more inhabited in ten yerres, than  
 Babylon or Carthage in a. L. yerres. O  
 glorious hert of Romulus, that suche a  
 thyng inuented, and glorious tong that  
 such a thyng commanded: and glorious  
 was the citee or countrey, that founded  
 them vpon such mercte and pitie, I haue  
 founde diuers letters of dyuers real-  
 mes of the orient, sente forthe, mencio-  
 nyng thus. We the kyng of Parthes in  
 Asia, to the conscript fathers of Rome,  
 and to the happy people of Italy, and  
 vnto all thein of that empyre, hauyng  
 the name of Romaines, and surname  
 of clemency, Salutation to your per-  
 sones, We sende peace and tranquili-  
 tie to you, as we demaunde the same of  
 the goddes.

Thus than regarde, what glorious  
 title of clemency our predecessours Ro-  
 maynes had, and what example of cle-  
 mency they haue left for all emperours  
 to com. Take this for certayne, that  
 the Censores or ministers of Iustice,  
 forgettyng the pitie of the Romaines,  
 shall bee reputed cruell, as Barbari-  
 ens: Nor Rome shall not repute them  
 as

M A R C V S.

as his naturall childzen, but as cruell enemies: and not for augmentours of the common welth, but infamous and robbers of clemency.

**W**han I was of the age of .xxxviii. yere, beeyng in the yle of Crete, nowe called Cypres, in wynter tyme, There was a mountayne called Archadio, wherupon foure pillers were sette, and a sepulchre of a kynge of worthy fame, and in his lyfe pittefull and full of mercy: and as one shewed me, there were certayne wordes wrytten in greke letters rounde about the sepulchre sayng thus: I haue taken to me alwaies this counsaile, where as I might dooe but littell good, I neuer dyd harme, and that that I myght haue with peace, I neuer stroue for: Suche as I might ouercome with praiser, I neuer feared with thretninges. Where as I myght remedy secretely, I did neuer chastise openly: theim that I myghte correcte wyth warnynges, I neuer hurted with beatynges: Suche as I chastised openly, I first aduertised secretely: and finally I neuer chastised one, but I forgave foure. I am right sorrowfull, by cause that I haue chastised: and am  
glad

AVRELIVS.

glad. because that I pardoned. In as  
muche as I was bozne as a man, my  
fleshe is here eaten with woozmes: and  
because I haue lyued vertuously in my  
lyfe, my spirite shall now reste with the  
goddess.

How thinkest thou my freend Antl  
gonus, what an epitophie was this?  
And howe glorious was his lyfe, sith  
the memoze of him vnto this daie aby  
deth so immortall: And as the goddess  
maie helpe me in all goodnesse, and de  
fende me fro yll, I haue not so great de  
lyte at Pompeie with his army, nor at  
Gaius Julius Caesar with his Gaules  
of fraunce, nor at Scipio with his Af  
ricans, as I haue at the kynge of Cy  
pres with his sepulchz. For that king  
hath moze glozy in that mountayne be  
yng deade, than all the other had in all  
their liues, with all their triumphes,  
that euer they had in Rome. I saie not  
but that the wyckednesse of yll people  
shoulde be chastised: for without com  
parison, he is worse that fauoureth the  
yll, than he that committeth the yll: for  
the one procedeth of weakenesse: and  
the other of malice. But it seemeth to  
me, end to all other that be wyse, that

as the sinne is naturall, and the chastisement voluntary: so oughte the rigor of iustice to be temperate, so that the ministers shoulde shewe compassion rather than vengeance: wherby the trespassours shuld haue occasion to amend their sinne passed, and not to reuenge the iniury presente. What plases and realmes haue bene losse, not for the plnesse that the yll people hath committed, but rather by the disordinate Justice, that the ministers of Justice haue exercised? Thinkynge by their rigor to correcte the domages passed, wherby hath rysen sclauanders and strife, neuer none suche harde of afore. Whan a prince sendeth any personne with the charge of iustice, he ought to saie to him these woordes, whiche Auguste Caesar saied to the gouernour of Affrike: I put not the confidence of mine honour into thy handes, nor committe to the my iustice, to be a destroyer of innocentes, nor an execucioner of synners, but that with one hande thou shouldest helpe the good to maintein theim therein, and with the other hande to helpe to reyse them that be yll from their noughtynes. And mine entencion is to send the forth to be a precepta

# AVRELIVS.

teptour of orphans, and an aduocat for  
widowes, a surgion for all woundes, a  
staffe for the blynde, a father to euery  
person, to speake saye to myne enemies  
and to reioyce my frendes. In this ma-  
ner I would thou shuldest vse thi self in  
euery place, so that by the fame of piti-  
fulnesse, such as be myne shall be in rest  
and content to be my subiectes, and that  
strangers shalbe desirous to come and  
to serue me.

**T**his instruction August Cesar gaue  
to a gouernour of his, bicause it was  
shewed him, that he was somewhat cru-  
ell in that realme. Certaynly they were  
short wordes, but they be right compen-  
dious. And wold to god they were wri-  
ten in the hertes of our iudges. Thou  
writest, how that yle is soze troubled by  
reason of the censores and iudges therof  
It is a noyfull trauaile to receyue the  
auctoritie of iustice into the hande of an  
vniuste man: and it is a thyng not to  
be suffred, that one with tyranny shuld  
tyrannyle dyuers other: not with the  
lyfe, but with the auctoritee to correcte  
good men, therby to be called a good ce-  
sor. The auctoritee of his office giveth  
to him by his pynce ought to be his as-

# M A R C V S

cessary, and his good lyfe for principall:  
in such maner, that by the rectitude of  
his iustice, the yll should feeble the execu-  
cion therof. All that haue auctoritee  
shuld tempze it with wisdom and pure-  
nes of liuyng. It is a great goodnes to  
the common welth, and great confusion  
to him that is chastised with payne,  
whan the miserable that is chastised,  
seeth nothyng in hym that chastiseth,  
wherby he hath deserued to be chastised.  
And contrary, it is greate slackenes in  
a prince to commande, and great shame  
to the common welthe to consent, and  
greate inconuenience and reproche to the  
iudge to execute: whan a poore wretch  
for a small fault is put to more payne for  
the same small faute doen in one daye,  
than is geuen to them that be greate for  
many tyrannies, that they haue comit-  
ted duryng their lyfe. These be they that  
peruert the common welth, and sclader  
the world, and put them selfe out of au-  
ctoiztee.

**I**n the .iii. yere that great Pompey  
tooke Elia, the whiche is now Ierusa-  
lem, the same tyme beyng there Vale-  
rius Gracchus, thither came an Hebrus  
or a Jew, as the annales shewe to com-  
playne

# AVRELIVS.

plaine to the Senate of the wronges and  
 griefes that were dooen to him in that  
 land, and so in doyng his errand in the  
 name of all that prouince, he saied these  
 woordes, O fathers conscripte, O hap-  
 pie people, your fatall destenies permit,  
 and our God leaueth vs with Ierusa-  
 lem, ladie of all Asie, and mother to the  
 Ebzues, to be in seruage of Rome, and  
 to the Romaines, certaynly great was  
 the power of Pompey, and much more  
 the force of his army to take vs. But  
 therfore I say, that greater was the  
 pre of our god, and without comparison  
 the multitude of our sinnes, wherby we  
 did merite to be losse. I would ye knew  
 one thynge, and it soze displeaseth me,  
 that ye Romains haue not proued it by  
 experience: That is, our god is so iuste,  
 that if among vs there had ben. x. iuste,  
 men, and among fiftie thousand yll, one  
 good, he would haue pardoned all the  
 yll: And than ye Romains should haue  
 seen as the Egyptians did, how our god  
 alone may do much more than all your  
 goddes together. And certeynly as long  
 as we be synners, so longe ye shall be  
 our lordes. And as long as the pre of the  
 Ebzues God dooeth endure, so longe  
 shall



# MARCVS

Shall the power of the Romans laste.  
 And because in this case I folow one  
 waye, and by your secte ye folow an o-  
 ther way, ye can not returne to honour  
 one god onely, no; I to honour diuers  
 goddes. I wyll leaue this matter to the  
 god, by whose power we haue ben no-  
 rished, and by whose bountie we be go-  
 uerned, and retourne to the case of our  
 ambassade. Ye know what peace hath  
 been betwene Rome and Iudee, and be-  
 twens Iudee and Rome, we with you,  
 and ye with vs. In all thynges we haue  
 obeyed you, and ye vs. No iust thing we  
 haue denaied you. And because there is  
 nothyng moze desired of the people, and  
 lesse put in operacion than is peace, and  
 there is nothyng moze abhorred, by the  
 whiche abhorrynge euery man liueth,  
 than is warre: I doe warne you of this  
 with truth, prouide therfore iustice, put  
 them away that folow your willes to  
 dooe vs yll. And let vs haue no suche  
 malicious folke, as intice vs to rebell.  
 The greatestt signe and strongest pyller  
 of peace is, to put away the perturb-  
 ers of peace. What profite is to say peace  
 peace, and in secret to say warre warre?  
 I say this because ye haue banysshed  
 the

# AVRELIVS.

the eldest sonne of kyng Ioumes out of  
 Lyon for the demerites, and ye haue  
 sent in his steede Campanius, Marcus  
 Rufus, and Valerius Braccus for pre-  
 sidentes. Thei be foure plagues, or .iiii.  
 pestilences, so that the least of theim  
 were sufficient to enpoyson the hole em-  
 pire of Rome, than muche sooner our  
 miserable realme of Palestine. What  
 thing can be moze monstrous, than that  
 the iudges of Rome should send menne  
 to put a wase yll customes fro them that  
 be yll, and they them selues are the in-  
 uentours of newe byces: What great-  
 ter shame and incōueniēce is iniustice,  
 than they that haue auctoritee to cha-  
 stise wanton youthe, to glorpye them  
 selfe to be captaynes of theim that bee  
 wyld: What greater infainie can be  
 in Rome, than thei that ought to be ver-  
 tuons and iuste, to geue exauple to o-  
 ther, to be yll and vicious: I lye if they  
 haue not so writhed and enlarged the  
 discipline of Iustice, that they haue  
 taught the youth of Iudee suche vices,  
 that haue not beene hard of by our fa-  
 thers, nor red in no bok, nor sene in our  
 time. O Romans beleue me in one thing  
 what counsayles Andee hath taken  
 of

# MARCVS

of Rome at this houre, let Rome take  
 Judce. Many realmes are gotten with  
 mightie capitaines, and muche shea-  
 ding of bloud, and ought to be obserued  
 with a good Iudge, not in sheadyng of  
 bloud, but in gettyng of hertes. Certen-  
 lie the iudge that wynneth moe good  
 willes than moneye, ought to be belo-  
 ned, and he that serueth for money, and  
 loseth the good willes, for ever ought to  
 be abhorred as pestilence. What thinke  
 ye is the cause nowe a daies, that your  
 presidentes be not obeyed in a iust cause?  
 Of a trouthe it is, because that first  
 they commaund vniust thinges. The  
 commaundmentes that be iust, maketh  
 soft and mecke hertes, and suche as be  
 vniuste, maketh menne cruell. We be so  
 miserable in all miseries, that to hym  
 that commaundeth well, we obeye yll;  
 and the more yll they commaunde, the  
 more obeyed would they be. Beleue me  
 in one thyng, that of the great light-  
 nesse and small sadnesse of the Iudges,  
 is bredde littell feare and great shame  
 in the subiectes. We that bee Jewes  
 thinke our selfe well aduertysed by the  
 mouth of our God, that saied: Euerie  
 Prince commyttynge charge of Justice

# AVRELIVS.

to hym that he seeth vnable to execute  
the same, or dooeth not principallye for  
Justice sake accomplishe Justice, but  
dooeth it for his owne profite, or els to  
please the partie, thincke surely, whan  
the Prince dooeth not regarde this, by  
some waie that he thincketh least of, he  
shall see his honour infamed, his cre-  
dence lost, his good minished, and some  
great chastisemente come to his house.  
And because I haue other thynges to  
saie in secrete, I will conclude as now  
openlie. Finally I saie, if ye will con-  
serue your realme longe tyme, for the  
whiche ye haue put your selfe in great  
perilles, keepe and mainteigne Justice,  
and we shall beare you reuerence: Com-  
maunde as Romaines, and we shall o-  
bey as Hebrewes: Geue vs a president,  
that is mercifull, and all our realme  
shalbe obedient: Be not to cruell to cha-  
ritye our meekenesse, & we shall bee the  
more obedient to your preeminence: I  
requisyre you, desire vs as ye commaunde.  
For in desiring, and not commanding,  
ye shall find loue as fathers to the chil-  
dren. And no treason as of Worde to  
seruauntes. All these thynges sayde the  
Iewe, wherof the Senat had great mer-  
uayle,

# MARCVS

waste. And fourth with the Senatours  
 provided for three iuste thynges. The  
 one was, that all these woordes should  
 be put in wytynge, to the entente that  
 they should be put in the booke ordeined  
 to write in al good saynges of al strange  
 ambassadours. The seconde, to putte  
 downe Braccus vallerius, because he  
 was so cruell, and in hatered with the  
 people. The thyrde, they prouyded Py-  
 late of Lyon to bee Presydente of that  
 realme. Than how seemeth it to the my  
 freende Antigonus, did not this Ebyne  
 speake highly? O Rome without Rome  
 that of Rome holdeth nothyng but the  
 walles, and arte fallen into vntyrifits  
 vices. What diddest thou whan suche a  
 shame was laied to thee by an Hebrew  
 in the myddes of the Senate? Certain-  
 ly the greattest plage among all plages,  
 and the greattest losse among all losses,  
 is whan the Prince hath his lyfe so  
 without lyfe, his iustice so without ius-  
 tice, his verdes so without verdes, and  
 in all euyl so bolde and hardie, and in  
 all goodnes suche a coward, that right-  
 wisely his owne men dooe accuse hym,  
 and straungers reprove him, none doeth  
 loue hym, but all hate hym, and his fren-

des

AVRELIVS.

des wyll not helpe him, and his enemies wyll persecute him: They that be present, refuse his goodnesse, and they that be absent, procure his yll: they that lyue take away his lyfe, and the dead his sepulchre. Now to retourne to the purpose of our Iudges. I pray thee Antigonus, shew me thy mynde, whereof commeth now a daies the great sclaunder of the people, the infamie of the prince, and the perill in iustice? If thou knowest it not, harken and I shal shew the wherby all goeth out of order. They that be prynces are so importunate, and the princes not refusing theim they be guyling & he sufferynge to be beguiled: The one with couetise, and the other with ignorance, doeth giue to suche that he should take fro, and take away from suche as he should geue vnto, and honoureth them that dishonoureth hym, kepeth the rightwise in prison, and deliuereth the vicious, dispiseth expearte persons, and trusteth the that be leude: and finally they prouide not offices to menne, but menne to offices. They ordeine the vniust to minister iustice, and doe iniurie to them that be iust: yet here and I shal shew thes moze.

These

# MARCVS

These miserables after that they be appointed and set in their offices, where of they be nothyng worthy, more for their auctoritie than for merite of their personnes, they are feared with their extreme iustice. They take on them the state of great men with the sweate and labour of poore men: They supply with malice that they want of discretion: And worst of all, they measure the iustice of other men with their owne proper vtilitie. Yet hearken and I shall say more. After that these ideotes see theym selfe in the gulfes of these bayns businesses, than they lacke the rayne of knowledge, and the sailes of wisdom, and the anchors of experience, noz can not remember a smal matter, but inuēt other more greater, alterynge and troublynge the peace for theyr owne particular wealth. They weepe for their owne harme. And no lesse for the wealth of other, and finally lesse theym selves. And therfore they aduenture them selfe into the gulfes, and inflame their lordes that haue geuen them suche offices, to geue them to such as haue deserued theym. Thou maist know, that the beginning of this is pride and ambition, and theyr middle

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# AVRELIVS.

is enuy and malice, and theyr ende is death & distruction. And if my counsell were taken, such shuld haue no credence with princes or gouernours, but as sclādred men to be separate, not all only fro the common welth, but fro their liues. Surely greate is the couetise of theym that be shameles, which without shame demande offices of the senate or princes, but it is a more boldnesse of malice for the princes to giue them. In this and in the other thynges these are so damnable, that neither the feare of the goddes doth withdrau the, nor the prince doth not refrayne them, nor vengeance doeth not let the, nor the common welth doth not accuse theym, & aboue all other, reason doth not commaund the nor the law subdue them.

¶ To my freende Antigonus, note this woozde that I write in the ende of my letter. In the pere of the foundation of Rome. vi. C. xlii. the Romaines as than in the woꝛlde had diuers warres, as Caius Celsus agaynst them of Trece, and Gneo Cordon his brother agaynst Sardine, Tuntus Sylla agaynst the Umbres, Minatius Rufus agaynst the Macidoniens, Seruillio Scipio agaynst



M A R C V S .

against the Lucitaynes, and Marius  
consull agaynst Ingurtha kynge of the  
Numidiens . It befell so, that Bocco  
kynge of Mauritayne sauoured Ingur-  
tha, and vpon theim triumphed Mari-  
us, and they laded with chaynes were  
led afore his chariot, not without great  
compassion of theym that saw it. After  
this triumphe doone, incontinent the  
same day by counsell of the senate, In-  
gurtha was beheaded in prison, and  
his companion Boccus had pardon of  
his lyfe, and the cause was, It was a  
custome, none to be put to iustice, but  
firste the auncient booke should be ser-  
ched, to see if any of his predecessours  
had doone before any seruice to Rome,  
whereby the captiue shoulde merite to  
haue pardone of his lyfe: and than it  
was founde, that the graundfather of  
Boccus came to Rome, and made great  
oracions before the senate, by whose  
woordes and sentences, his said newew  
merited to haue pardon of his lyfe: and  
among other of his sayinges, he reher-  
sed these verses that saied: what is that  
realme, where is no good among the pl,  
noz yll amonge the good: what is that  
realme, that hath theyr houses full of  
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AVRELIVS.

good simple persons, and banysbeth a  
waie all wisdom : Or what is that re-  
alme, that suche as be good are cowar-  
des, and the yll hardie : Or what is the  
realme, where all peasible are displea-  
sed, and the sedicious pzeised : What is  
that realme that sleeth theim that wold  
their wealth, and are angry with them  
that woulde helpe their yll : Or what is  
that realme, that permitteth the proude  
poore folkes, and the ryche tyzauntes : Or  
what is that realme, wher thei al know  
the euill, and none procureth any good-  
nesse : Or what is that realme, wher such  
vices are openly committed, that other  
realmes feare to dooe secretely : Or what  
is that realme, where as all that they  
desyre they procure, and all that thei do  
procure, they attayne, and all that is yll  
thei thinke, and al þ thei thinke they say,  
and all that thei say thei may do, and all  
that thei mai do, thei dare do, and put in  
operacio that thei dare to : and worst of  
all there is none so good to resist it : In  
such a realme there should be none inha-  
bitante . For within shorte space the yll  
men shalbe chaunged, or els dispeopled  
of good mē, or the goddis will confound  
theim, or the tyzantis shall take theim,  
Diuers

M A R C V S.

Dyners thynges were saied, the whiche I passe ouer at this tyme. How thyndest thou Antigone? I sweare by the immortall goddes, that my hearte breaketh to thynde on the greatte shame that was layed vpon Rome by suche wytyng as was lefte to them by the graundefather of this kynge Boccus. This my letter I would thou shouldest reade in secreete to the pretours, and if they amend not, we shal fynde the meanes to chastise them openly. And as touchyng thy banishment I promyse the to be thy good freende to the senate, that we maie soy our aunciente amyties together. And to gette the out of that ple, certaynly I shall doe my dilygence. I haue wytten to my secretary Panu-  
tius to delpyer the. ii. M. sesters to re-  
leue thy pouertee: and thus I sende thee my letter to comfort thy heauy heart. I saie no more, but the goddes geue the contentacion of that thou wouldest haue soy, and reste to thy persone. And all corporall euyls, cruell enemies, and fatal destenies be seperate fro me Marke. For the behalfe of my wyfe Faustine, I salute the, and thy wyfe Rufa: She is thine, and I am thyne. With bisitaci-

AVRELIVS.

on of ioye I haue receyued thy letter,  
and thankesfully I sende the myne. I  
shall not reſte to deſire to ſe thy perſons  
in Italy, and there in Sicyle to leue my  
ſeuer quartayne.

**A** letter ſent by Marcus to Lambert  
gouernour of the yle of Heleſpont,  
whan he dyd baniſhe the vaca-  
bundes fro Rome.  
The. xii. letter.



Ark emperor of Rome,  
lorde of Aſie, confederat  
with theini of Europe,  
frend of them of Affrike,  
enemie of the Maures:  
To the Lambert gouer-  
nour of the yle of Heleſponte, ſendeth  
of his parte contentacion and ſuretes  
fro the ſacrate Senate. I am ſurred  
with the ſurres that thou haſt ſente me,  
and am clothed with thy mantell, and  
am ryght well pleaſed with thy grey-  
houndes: If I had thought, that thine  
abſence fro Rome ſhould haue procured  
ſo muche fruite in that yle: long agoe I  
ſhould haue determined as well for thy  
proſite as for my ſerulce. I ſent to the

M A R C V S

in demaundayng but small thynges in  
my sport, and thou haste sente me many  
thynges in earnest. In good sooth thou  
haste better propoztioned thy seruyce  
with noblenesse, than I to commaunde  
with my couetyse. For if thou remem-  
bre, I sent to thee for a doleyn skynnes  
of furre, and thou hast sent me .xii. do-  
seynes: and I byd sende but for .vi. grei-  
hound, and thou hast sent me .xii. Tru-  
ly in this case my pleasure is double.  
For here in Rome thy great largesse is  
published, and my small couetyse there  
in Helesponte. And because I am sure  
thou hast great thanks of me, I prae  
to god to send the salute and health, and  
that fortune be not denyed the at a good  
houre. I sende the .iii. barkes of mai-  
ster fooles, and yet I haue not sent thee  
all. For if I had banyshed all the foo-  
les in Rome, we should haue peopled vs  
with a new people. These maister foo-  
les haue bene so wyly to teache foly, and  
the Romayne youth so apte to learne,  
though they be put in .iii. barkes, their  
disciples wold lade .iii. M. Carrakes: I  
haue great meruayle of one thyng, and  
my herte sclaundereth the goddes: for I  
see well the erithquakes casteth downe  
house,

AVRELIVS.

houses, and great waters beareth a waie  
 bridges, frostes freseth the vines, sodden  
 thondering & tempestes breketh downe  
 toures, scarltie of water causeth berth,  
 corrupte ayze maketh an ende of theim  
 that be wyse: and yet there is nothyng  
 that can make an end of these fooles. All  
 thynges at this day faileth at Rome,  
 except all onely these ydell trewandres,  
 testours, tumblers, platers, oz drosslates  
 iuglers, and such other, of whome there  
 is inow and to many. O what a seruise  
 shouldest thou do to the gods, and what  
 profite to Rome, that for thre barkes  
 full of fooles, to send one lade with wise  
 men: One thyng I wyll say, that with  
 the bones of the wyse men that ple is  
 halowed, that anciently were banished  
 by the malice and enuy of theym of  
 Rome: if thy smellyng wits be not lost  
 as Italy stynketh of the that be symple,  
 so that ple smelleth sweet of wyse men.  
 Whan I came fro the wars of the Par-  
 thes, p. lili. yere of mine empire, I passed  
 into that ple by diuers seas to see the  
 sepulchres of auncient wyse men: and  
 in the citie of Dozbite, in the middes  
 therof, lieth Duide, that was banished  
 by August: and vnder the mountayne

M A R C V S

Arpines is the sepulchre of the renowned Armeno oratour, banished by Sylla: at the porte of Organant thou shalt finde the bones of Colliodorus recaptuler of the antike lawes, that was banished by Nero the cruell: and in the feelde of Elinos, vnder a marble, is the pouders of Sissio Steneo, that was so well learned in the .viij. artes lyberall, as though he had new founde them, he was banished by the mariners. I say for trouthe thou shalt finde it thus, for with my knees I haue touched their sepulchres. And all that season my tender eyes were as full of water, as their bones were harde in the earth. These were not banished for no vilanies that they had dooen: but it was the merprie of our forefathers, that they would be pryuated fro the company of so noble barons: and wee their children fro the poudre of so renowned sages. I can not tell whiche is the greater, the fantasie, that I haue to thynne ple, or the compassion of miserable Rome. I dooe pray thee as my freende, and command thee as my seruante, to regarde the places that I haue shewed thee. For it is a iuste thyng, and mooste iuste, that suche cities

AVRELIVS.

cittes be priuiledged by them that liueth,  
whan they are peopled with suche dead  
wise menne. And moze ouer Centurion  
knoweth by wordes, the heauy case that  
these prisoners hadde with vs, and we  
with them, the day of the feaste of mo-  
ther Berecynthia. I say, I saw not that  
day so muche crueltie in Rome, as we  
caused infamy through all the empyre.  
Rome was neuer overcome, by theym  
that were valsaunt and vertuous, that  
day we sawe ouergone, and troden vn-  
der soote, by those fooles. The walles  
of Rome, that wer neuer touched by the  
Perians, had that day theyr lowpes  
full of armed trewandes: Rome, that  
triumphed ouer all realmes, was tri-  
umphed vpon that day, with tombles  
and iugglers. I am so abashed in this  
case, that I wot not what to say or to  
write. Yet one thyng comforteth me,  
that sith Rome and the Romaines vn-  
iustly do reioyce with these fooles: she  
and the famousse wise men, iustly shalbe  
chastised for these fooles. And in this  
the goddess shall not be displeased, that  
sith Rome laugheth at these trewan-  
des and mockeries, one day she shall  
weepe with these tombles and iugglers.



I banthe all these for euer fro Rome,  
not for the blood that they haue shedde,  
but for the heartes that they haue per-  
uerted, not for the occasion of any that  
be dead, but bycause they wer maisters  
of folies. Without comparison it is grea-  
ter offence to the goddes, and more da-  
mage to the common wealth, these tre-  
wades to take away the wittes fro the  
wise folkes, than the murderers to take  
away mens lines. If the greatest gifts  
among all gifts of fortune, be, to kepe  
a good wylt, let no man presume, to be of  
a restfull vnderstandyng, that is an ex-  
treme frend to these tre wandes. Beleue  
me one thyng. As one byrde loueth an o-  
ther, and one beast an other, & one wyse  
man an other: so one foole loueth an o-  
ther foole.

I remember, on a day, as I reuolued  
the registers in the capitol, I red a right  
miruailous thyng of Quertus a famous  
orator, whiche is buried in the Ile of  
Helespont, on the mount Adamantine.  
Whan great Scipio came fro the warre  
of the Pœnians, better accompaigned  
with hunger staruen tre wandes, than  
with valiant capitaines, he said to him:  
Of trouthe it is a greate thame to thee,  
and

# AVRELIVS.

and a small honour to the Senate, that thou, that hast ouercome the wyse Affres, and beyng so wyse thy selfe, and of the bloud of the wyse Romains, wilt bee accompanied with these trewandes and fooles. In that vnhappie realme, al the wyse men coulde not ouercome one, that was thought so mightie, among so many fooles. I saie to thee, that thy wit is in moze peryll here in Rome, than thy ylse in Affrike.

These were good wordes, and not of no worldlie malice. And within a short while after, and by diuers light persos, and for a small occasion, this pooze olde oratour, and riche philosopher, by the frendes of Scipio, was banished Rome, and sent into that yle.

Then behold Lambert, let vs retorne to these iugglers and trewandes. When thei are landed in that yle, let them go frank and free, so that they vse not their accustomed toys. Thou shalt constrain them to labour, and chastise them if they be ydle. For these miserable folke, fleyng from iust trauayle, take on them vniust idelnesse, and couert mo men with their trewandise, than if open scholes of vascabundes were kept.

¶ It is

¶ There

# MARCVS

**T**here is nothyng that our forefathers did, that displeaseth me so much, as the sufferance of these vnthristie trewandes.

**I**n the yere. CCxvi. of the foundacion of Rome, in the tyme of an horrible pestilence in Italie, to reioice the people was first founde out the inuencion of Theatres, by the aduyce of the trewandes. It is a shameful thyng to here, that the pestilence dured but two yeres, and the rage of these vnthristes dureth, iiii. hundred yeres.

**L**ambert, I beleue wel, that the complaintes, that these prysoners haue begon here, shal neuer haue an ende there. How be it, I care not: for the grudge of theim, that be yll, iustifieth the iustice and sentence of theim, that be good. As the maister of Nero saied: As muche as the shame of sinne ought to be fledde of theim, that be good, so muche praise is the infamie of the yll. I shall tell thee one thing, to thentent, that the chastisement should not sceme cruell to the. Seyng the emperours of Rome are full of clemencie to straungers, it is no reason, that thei shuld be so sharp to their own. Sith fatal destinies hath brought me in-

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AVRELIVS.

to this world. I haue seen nothing more  
 vnprofitable to the common wealth, nor  
 greater folie in thein, that be lyght of  
 condicions, nor a worse inuencio for va-  
 cabundes, nor a more cold reuocation of  
 moztal folk, than to lerne of these gam-  
 ners and triflers, and suche other iug-  
 lers. What thyng is more monstrous,  
 than to see wyse men reioyce at the pa-  
 stime of these vaine triflers? What gre-  
 ter mockerie can be in the capitoll, than  
 the solish sayng of a tetter to be praised  
 with great laughter of wise men? What  
 greater sclaunders can be to Princes  
 houses, than to haue their gates alwaies  
 open to receiue in these fooles, and ne-  
 ver open to wise folkes? What great-  
 er crueltee can there bee in any person,  
 than to geue more in one daie to a foole,  
 than to his seruantes in a yere, or to his  
 kinne, all his life? What greater incō-  
 stancie can there be, than to want men  
 to furnyshe the garrisons and frontiers  
 of Illirico, and these trewandes to a-  
 bide at Rome? What lyke shame can  
 there be to Rome, than that the memo-  
 rie shall be lefte more in Italie, of these  
 tumbler, trewandes, pypers, syngers  
 of iesses, labourers, crouders, daun-

# MARCVS

cers, mummers, iesters, and jugglers,  
than the renoume of capitaines, with  
their triumphes and armes. And whan  
these captiffes wandered all aboute in  
Rome in safetie, sounyng their leudnes,  
and gather yng of money: the noble ba-  
rons and capitaines, wet fro realme to  
realme, wast ing their money, aduentu-  
ring their liues, and sheding theyr blod.  
¶ In the vttermost part of Spain, whē  
war began betwene the Libertiens and  
Goditaynes, and they of Liberie lacked  
money: Two jugglers and labourers,  
offred to mainteine the war a hole yere.  
And it folowed, that with the goodes of  
two fooles, many wise men were slaine  
and overcome.

¶ In Ephese, a citee of Asia, the famous  
Temple of Diana was edified with the  
confiscacion of the goodes, of suche a  
tre wand and foole.

¶ Whan Cadmus edified the citee of  
Thebes in Egypt, with fiftie gates, the  
mynstrelles gaue him moze towarde it,  
than all his freendes.

¶ If the historie be true, whan August  
edified the wals of Rome, he had moze  
of the tre wandes, that were drowned in  
Tyber, than of the common tresorie.

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# AVRELIVS.

The first kyng of Corinth arose by sus  
the villayns, I saw his sepulchre at Co  
rinth: And as I say of this small num  
ber, I might say of many other.

Beholde than Lambert, how littell  
care the goddes take, and how variable  
the case of fortune is, and how the dees  
des of men fall. Some be had in memo  
ry for theyr foly, and some for their wis  
dome. One thyng is come to my mynde  
of the chaunce of these tre wandes, and  
that is, whyle they be in ptesence, they  
make every man to laugh at the folies  
that they dooe and say, and whan they  
be gone, every man is sorry for his mo  
ney, that they bare away. And of trou  
the, it is a iust sentence of the Goddes,  
that suche as haue taken vaine pleasure  
together, whan they are departed, to  
weepe for theyr losses. I wyll write no  
more vnto thee: but I do sende thes this  
letter in Greke, to the extent that thou  
shew it ouer all the Ile. Sends forth  
with the shippes again, for they must be  
sent forth with the prouisions into Illi  
rico. Deace be with the Lambert, health  
and good fortune be with me Marc. The  
Senate saluteth the. And thou on my be  
halfe, shalt shew to the Ile, the ioyfull  
happ

# MARCVS

happie customes. My wife Faustine sal  
luteth thee, and sendeth a riche gyddell  
to thy doughter. And in recompence of  
the furtres,, I sende thee riche iewelles.

A letter sent by Marke the mperour  
to Catulus his speciall freende  
of the nouelties of Rome.

The .xiii. letter.



**M**arcus the new censoze, to the  
 Catulus the old censoze. It is  
 r. dates past, that in the tem  
 ple of god Janus, I receiued  
 thy letter: And I take the same god to  
 witnes, that I had rather haue seen thy  
 person. Thou writest, how my writyng  
 is long, but the shortnesse of tyme ma  
 keth me to aunswere thee moze bzeifely,  
 farre away moze than I would. Thou  
 bestrest me to geue the knowlage of the  
 newes here. Therto I aunswer, that it  
 were better to demaunde, if there be  
 any thyng abiden here in Rome or I  
 taly, that is olde. For now by our hea  
 uy destinies, all that is good and olde,  
 is ended, and new thynges that be yll  
 and detestable, we may see dayly. The  
 Empero, the Consull, the Tribune, the  
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# AVRELIVS.

Senatours, the Ediles, the Flamines,  
the Dictours, the Centurions, all these  
thynges be new, but the villaynes,  
that been olde, and all passeth to make  
new offices, and to ordeine statutes and  
practikes, and than to come to the coun-  
sels, and to reise vp subsidies. In su-  
che wyse, that there hath ben now mo  
nouelties within these. iiii. yeres, than  
in tyme passed in. iiii. C. yeres. We now  
assemble together a. iiii. C. to counsel in  
the capitol: and there we blason & bolde,  
sweare and promise, that som of vs may  
subdue and put vnder other, to fauour  
one, & destroy an other, other to chastise  
the yll, and rewarde the good: To re-  
payre olde, and edyfy new: To plucke  
vices vp by the rootes, and to plant ver-  
tues: to amende the olde, and folowe  
the good: to reprove tyrantes, and as-  
syste the pooze: and whan that we are  
gone from thense, they that speake best  
wordes, are often taken with the worst  
dedes. O heuy Rome, that now a daies  
hath such Senatours, that in sayinge,  
we shall doo, we shal doo, passeth theyr  
lyfe: and than euery man, seekyng for  
his owne profite, forgetteth the com-  
mon wealth. Oftentimes I am in the  
Senate



Senate to behold other, as they regarde me: and I am abashed to heare the eloquence of theyr wordes, the zeale of iudice, and the iustification of theyr persones: and after that I com thens, I am ashamed to see their secrete extorcion, theyr damnable thoughtes, and theyr yll woozkes so playnely manifest. And yet there is an other thyng of moze meruaile, and not to be suffred, that such persones, as are most defamed, and vse most dishonest vices, with theyr most damnable inuencions, make theyr auowes to do most cruell iustice. It is an ineffable rule, and of humayne malice most vlsed, that he that is most hardy to committe greatest crimes, is most cruell to giue sentence agaynst an other for the same offence. We thinke that we regard our owne crimes, as thorow smallettes, that causeth thynges to seeme the lesser. And we remembrys the faultes of other in the water, that causeth thynges to seeme greater than they be. How many haue I sene condemned to be hanged by the senate, for one smal faute, dooen in all the lyfe, and yet they committe the same faute every houre.

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# AVRELIVS.

**T**hane redde, that in the tyme of Alexander the great, there was a renowned pyrate or roner on the sea, whiche robbed and drowned all shippes, that he coulde gette: and by commaundement of this good kynge Alexander, there was an army sente soorth to take hym. And whan he was taken, and presented to Alexander, the kynge saied to hym: Shewe me Dionides, why doest thou keepe the sea in daungier, that no shippe can sayle out of the easse into the west, for the? The pyrate answered and saied: If I keepe the sea in daungier, why doest thou Alexander keepe all the sea and lande as losse? O Alexander, because I fighte with one shippe in the sea, I am called a theefe, and because thou robbest with two hundred shippes on the sea, and troublest all the worlde with. ii. hundred thousand men, thou arte called an Emperour. I sweare to the Alexander, if fortune were as favourable to me, and the goddes as extreme agaynst the: they woulde geue me thynne Emppre, and geue the my lyttell shippe, and than peraduenture I shoulde bee a better kyng than thou art, and thou a worse theefe

these than I am,

**T**hese were high woordes, and well receyued of Alexander: and of trouth, to see if his woordes were correspondent to his promisses, he made hym from a pryate to a great capitaine of an army, and he was moze vertuous on lande, than he was cruell on the sea.

**I**n promyse thee Catulus, Alexander dyd right well therein, and Dionides was to be praysed greatly, for that he had saied. Now a daies in Italie they that robbe openly, are called lordes, and thei that rob pryuely, are called theues.

**I**n the pere bokes of Liuius, I haue red, that in the second troublous warre punike, betwen the Romains and Carthaginense, there came an ambassadour Lucitayn, sent fro Spayne, to treate for accomde of peace. Whan he came to Rome, he proued before the senate, that sith he entred into Italye, he had beene ten tymes robbed of his goodes, and whyles he was at Rome, he had seene one of theim that robbed hym, hange vp an other, that had defended hym. He seyng so yll a decde, and howe the these was saued without iustice, as a desperate man, toke a cole, and wrote on the

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AVRELIVS.

gybet as soloweth.

**T**O gybet thou art made among theues, nozished among theues, cut of theues, wrought of theues, made of theues, set among theues, and thou art peopled with innocentes.

**A**nd there as I redde these woordes, was in the originall of Aulus, and in his histories. I sweare to the by the immortall goddes, that all the Decade was wyrtten with blacke ynke, and these woordes with redde vermilion. I can not tell, what woordes I shuld send the, but that euery thyng is so newe and so tender, and is soigned with so pleasantment, that I feare me, all wyll fall suddenly to the playne earth. I tell thee, that some are sodenly rylen wythin Rome vnto balour, to whom I will rather assure their fall, than theyr lyfe. For all buildyng hastily made, can not be sure. The longer a tree is kept in his kynde, the longer it wyll be ere it be olde. The trees, whose fruite we eate in sommer, do warme vs in wynter. Whow many haue we seene, wherof we haue meruayled of theyr ryllyng, and ben abashed of their falles. They haue growen as a hole peece, and sodenlye

ask                      wasted

# M A R C V S

wasted as a skumme. Their felicitie  
 hath bene but a short point, and their  
 infortune as a longe lyfe. Fynally thei  
 haue are died the mylle, and armed it  
 with stones of encrease, and after a lit-  
 tell grinding, left it in vtile all the hole  
 yere after. Thou knowest well my friend  
 Catulus, that we haue scene Cincius  
 Fulvius in one yere made consule, and  
 his children tribunes, and his wyfe a  
 matrone for younge maydens, and be-  
 syde that, made keeper of the Capitoll,  
 and after that not in one yere, but the  
 same daie we saw Cincius beheaded in  
 the place, his children drowned in Ty-  
 bre, his wyfe banished fro Rome, his  
 house rased downe to the grounde, and  
 all his good confisked to the comon tres-  
 sorie. This rigorous example we haue  
 not redde in any booke, to take a cople  
 of it, but we haue sene it with our eyes  
 to kepe it in our myndes. As the nations  
 of people are variable, so are the con-  
 ditions of men dyuers, and appetites  
 of mortall folke: and me thinketh this  
 is true, saying that some loue, some hate,  
 and that that some seeke, some esche-  
 weth: And that that some setteth lystell  
 by, other make of. In suche wyse, that  
 all

AVRELIVS.

all can not be contente with one thyng,  
 nor some with all thynges cannot be sa-  
 tisfied. Let euery man choose as hym  
 lyke, and embrace the worlde whan he  
 wyl, I had rather mount a soft pace to  
 the fallyng, and if I can not come ther-  
 to, I wyl abyde by the way, rather  
 than with the sweate to mount hastily  
 and than to tumble downe headlyng.  
 In this case sythe mennes heartes bin-  
 derstande it, we nede not to write fur-  
 ther with penne. And of this matter  
 regarde not the litle that I doo saye,  
 but the great deale that I wyl say. And  
 syth I haue begun, and art in strange  
 landes, I wyl write thee all the newes  
 fro hens. This yere the .xxv. day of  
 May, there came an ambassadour out  
 of Aſie, sayng he was of the yle of Co-  
 lyn, a baron right elegant of body, rade-  
 dy of a specte, and right hardy of cou-  
 rage. He considered beynge at Rome,  
 though the sommers daies wer long, yet  
 wynter would draw on, and than wold  
 it be daungerous saylyng into this yle,  
 and sawe that his busines was not di-  
 spatche: On a day beynge at the gate  
 of the Senate, seyng all the senatours  
 entre into the Capitoll, without any

M A R C V S

armour vpon theym, he as a mā of good  
spirite, and zelatour of his countrey, in  
the presence of vs all, said these wordes.

**O** fathers conscript, O happy peo-  
ple, I am come from a strange countrey  
to Rome, onely to see Rome, and I haue  
founde Rome without Rome:

The walles, wherewith it is inclosed,  
hath not brought me hyther, but the  
same of theym that gouerne it. I am  
not come to se the treasoury, wherein  
is the treasure of all realmes, but I am  
come to se the sacred senate, out of the  
which issueth the counsell for all men.

I came not to see you, bycause ye bayn-  
quise all other, but because I thought  
you more vertuous than all other. I  
dare well say one thyng, excepte the  
goddess make me blinde, & trouble mine  
vnderstandyng, ye be not Romaines of  
Rome, nor this is not Rome of the Ro-  
maignes your predecessours. We haue  
hearde in our yle; that diuers realmes  
ben wonne by the valiantes of one, and  
conserued by the wisdomme of all the  
Senate; And at this honre ye are more  
lyke to bee distroyed, than to winne as  
your fathers didde: all their exercise  
was in goodnesse, and ye that are their  
chil-

AVRELIVS.

chilozen, passe all your time in ceremonies. I say this, ye Romaines, because ye haue almoste killed me with laughing at you, to see how ye doo all as muche your diligence to leaue your armure without the gate of the senate, as your predecessours did take to theym to defende the Emppye. What profite is it to you, to leaue your armes for the suerties of your persones, and put them on, wherewith ye flea all the worlde? What profiteth it to the thoughtfull suiter, that the Senatour entreth vnarmed into the Senate without swearde or dagger: And his hert entreth into the Senate armed with malice? O Romainys, I will ye know, that in our Ile we hold you not as armed captaynes, but as malicious Senatours, not with sharpe grounden swerdes and baggers, but with hard heartes and benemouse tongues ye feare vs. If ye should in the Senate put on harneis, and therewith take away your liues, it were but a smallle losse, seynge that ye susteine not the innocentes, nor dispatche not the busineses of suiters. I can not suffer it. I can not tell in what state ye stande here at Rome: ffor in our Ile we take armour

As itt

froue



from fooles, whether your armour is  
 take away as fro fooles or mad folkes,  
 I wot not. If it be doen for ambitious-  
 nesse, it commeth not of Romans, but of  
 tyrantes, that wranglers and p̄sell  
 folkes should not be iudges ouer the pea-  
 sible, and the ambitious ouer the meke,  
 and the malicious ouer the simple. If  
 it be doen because ye be fooles, it is not  
 in the law of the goddes, that three hun-  
 dred fooles shoulde gouerne three hun-  
 dred thousand wise menne. It is a long  
 season that I haue tarded for mine an-  
 swere and licence, and by your madnes  
 I am now farther of, than I was the  
 first day. Wee byynge oyle, hony, saf-  
 fron, wodde and timber, salte, syluer  
 and golde out of our Ile into Rome, and  
 ye wyll that wee goe els where to seke  
 Justice. We will haue one law to gather  
 your rentes, and an other to determine  
 our Justice, ye will that we pay our tri-  
 butes in one day, and ye wyll not dis-  
 charge one of our errandes in a whole  
 yere. I require you Romaine? determin  
 your selves to take away our liues, and  
 so we shall ende : or els heare our com-  
 plaintes, to thentent that we may serue  
 you. For in an other maner it may be,  
 than

than ye know by hearing w<sup>th</sup> your eares, whiche peraduenture ye wolde not se w<sup>th</sup> your eyen. And if ye thynke my wordes be out of measure, so that ye wil remedy my countrey, I let not by my lyfe. And thus I make an ende. Merely freende Catulo, these bee the wooordes that he spake in <sup>h</sup> senate, whiche I gat in wytyng. I say of trouthe, that the hardinesse that the Romaines wer wont to haue in other countreis, the same as now straungers haue in Rome. There were that saide, that this ambassadour should be chastised, but the goddes forb<sup>id</sup>, that for sayng trouthe in my presence, he should haue ben correct. It is enough and to muche to, to suffer these euils, though we sle not & persecute those that aduertise and warne vs of theym. The shepe are not in surety of the wolfe, but if the shepherd haue his dogge w<sup>th</sup> him. I meane, doggs ought not to leaue barking for to awake the shephrdes. There is no god commaundeth, nor law counsaileth, nor common welth suffereth, that they whiche ar committed to chastise liers, shoulde hang them that saie trouthe. And sith the Senators shew them selfe men in their liuing, and

# MARCVS

sometime moze humain than other that  
 be sclauens, who els should delyuer them  
 from chastisement? Oh Rome and no  
 Rome, haupng nothyng but the name  
 of Rome, where is now become the no-  
 blenesse of thy tryumphes, the glorie  
 of thy childezen, the rectitude of thy Ju-  
 stice, and the honour of thy temples?  
 for as now they chastice hym more that  
 mourmoureth against one onely Sena-  
 tour, than thei do them that blasphem  
 all the goddes at once. for it greeneeth  
 me more to se a Senatour or Censoze to  
 be woozke of all other, than it displea-  
 seth mee, that it shoulde be sayde, that  
 he is the best of all other. for a trowth  
 I saie to thee my freende Catulus, that  
 as now we nede not seke to the goddes  
 in the Temples, for the Senatours are  
 made Goddes in our handes. This is  
 the difference betwene theim that beene  
 immortall, and thei that be mortal. for  
 the goddes neuer dooe thyng that is yl,  
 and the Senatours dooe neuer good  
 thyng: The goddes neuer lye, and  
 they neuer saye trouthe: the Goddes  
 pardon often, and they neuer forgeue:  
 the goddes are content to be honoured  
 fiae tymes in the yere, and the Sena-  
 tours

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# AVRELIVS.

tours woulde be honoured tenne tymes  
a daie. What wylte thou that I saie  
more? but what so euer the goddes doe,  
they oughte to be prayesed, and the Se-  
natours in all their woozkes deserue to  
be reprovoued: fynally I conclude, that  
the Goddes assure and affyrme euerye  
thyng, and thei er and faile in nothing:  
and the Senatours assure nothyng, but  
erre in all thyng: onely for one thyng,  
the Senatours are not of reason to bee  
chastised: and that is, whan thei intend  
not to amende their faultes, they wyl  
not suffre the Oratours to waste theyr  
tyme to shewe theim the trouthe. Be it  
as maie bse, I am of the opinion, that  
what man or woman, withdraueth  
their eares from hearyng of trouthe, im-  
possible it is for theim, to applie their  
heartes to loue any vertues: Be it Cen-  
sor that iudgeth, or Senatour that or-  
deyneth, or Emperour that commaun-  
deth, or Consull that excecuteh, or Ora-  
tour that preacheh. No mortall man,  
take he neuer so good hede to his wooz-  
kes, nor reason so well in his despyres,  
but that he deserueth some chastise-  
ment for some cause or counsaile in his  
dooynges. And sith I haue wyrtten

# M A R C V S

to thee thus of other, I wyll somewhat  
 speake of my selfe, because of the wooz-  
 des of thy letter. I haue gathered, that  
 thou desirest to knowe of my personne.  
 Knowe thou for certayne, that in the  
 kalendes of Januarie, I was made  
 Censoze in the Senate, the whiche office  
 I desired not, noz I haue not deserved  
 it. The opinion of all wise men is, that  
 no manne, without he lacke witte, or  
 surmounteth in folie, will gladlie take  
 on him the bourdeyne and charges of o-  
 ther mienne. A greater case it is, for a  
 shamefast manne to take on hym an of-  
 fice to please every manne, for he muste  
 shewe a countenance outwarde, con-  
 trarpe to that he thynketh inwarde.  
 Thou wilt saye, that the good are or-  
 deigned to take the charge of offices.  
 O unhappie Rome, that hath willed to  
 take me in suche wise, as to be the best  
 in it. Greuouse pestilence ought to come  
 for them that be good, sith I am sca-  
 ped, as good among the yll. I haue ac-  
 cepted this office, not for that I had a-  
 ny neede therof, but to satisfie the desi-  
 res of my wyfe Faustine, and to fulfill  
 the commaundement of Anthonius my  
 graundfather. Haue no meruayle of  
 any

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# AVRELIVS.

my thyng that I dooe, but of that I  
 leaue to be dooen. For any man that  
 is wedded to Faustine, there is no by-  
 lany but he shall dooe it, I sweare to  
 thee, that sith the day we wer wedded,  
 me seemeth that I haue no wytte. I  
 leaue weddyng for this tyme, and re-  
 turne to speake of offices. Surely a pe-  
 sible man ought to be in offices, though  
 it be peynfull: for as the offices are assu-  
 red amonge theym that be vertuous, so  
 perillously goeth the vertuous folke  
 amonge offices. And for the trouthe  
 hereof recken what they wyne, and  
 than thou shalt se what they lose. Say  
 that is good, yf thou knowest it, and  
 heare the yll, if thou desire to knowe it.  
 He that will take the charge to gouerne  
 oher, he seeketh thought and trouble for  
 him selfe, enuy for his neighbours,  
 spures for his enemies, pouertie for  
 his riches, awakynge of theues, pe-  
 rill for his bodie, and ende of his daies,  
 and toymment for his good renoun. Fi-  
 nally he seeketh away to reiecte his  
 friendes, and a repeale to recouer his e-  
 nemies. And an unhappy man is he, that  
 taketh on him the charge of children  
 of many mothers, for he shall bee al-  
 waies

# MARCVS

swates charged with thoughtes, how he  
 should content them all : ful of syghes,  
 because one hath to geue him : feare  
 that one should take fro hym, weppynge  
 if he leese : and suspexion that they in-  
 same him. He that knoweth this, with-  
 out long taryng ought to set a bzidel at  
 his head. But I say of one, as I say of  
 an other. For I wyll sweare, and thou  
 wilt not deny it, that we may fynde  
 some now a daies, that had rather be  
 in the parke to fight against the Bulles  
 than be in suerty vpon the scaffold. Of-  
 tentymes I haue heard say, Goe we to  
 the Theatres to renne at the bulles : go  
 we to chalse the Hartes and wilde Bo-  
 res : and whan they come there, they  
 renne away, not the beastes fro theim,  
 but they fro the beastes. In suche wyse  
 as they went rennyng, thei retourne a-  
 gayne slepyng. I say, these ambitious  
 persons procure to gousrne, and are go-  
 uerned : they commaund, and are com-  
 maunded : they rule and are ruled : and  
 finally thinkynge to haue diuers vnder  
 their handes, these wretches put theym  
 selves vnder euery mans foote. For  
 the remedie of all these perylls, my  
 thought is comforted with one thyng,  
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AVRELIVS.

and that is, without procuring or offering my selfe, the senate of theyr owne wyll hath commaunded me. In the viii. table of our aunciente lawes be these wordes. we commaunde that in our sacred senate charge of iustice be neuer given to him that willyngly offereth hym selfe to it, but to suche as by rype deliberation be chosen. This is certainly a iust law. For men now be not so vertuous nor so louing to the common welth, that they wil forget their own quietnes and rest, doyng domage to them selfe, to procure an other mans profite. There is none so solish, that wyl leaue his wife, children, and his owne swete countrey, to go into straung countreys, but if he se him selfe among straunge people, thynkyng vnder the colour of iustice to seeke for his owne vtilitie. I say not this without wepyng, that the princes with their small study and thought, and the iudges with their couetise, haue vndermined and shaken downe the high walles of the policy of Rome. O my freende Catulus, what wilt thou that I shoulde say, but that our credence so minissheth, our couetise so largely stretcheth, our hardynesse so boldeth, our shamesfastnesse so shame.



Shameles, that we prouide for iudges to go and rob our neighbours as capitaine agaynst our enemye: I let thee to witte where as Rome was beloued for chastityng the yll, now it is as much hated for disposyng of innocentes. I doe remembre that I red, in the tyme of Denys Syracusan, that ruled al Sicile, there came an ambassadour fro Rhodes to Rome, beyng of a good age, wel learned, & valiant in armes, and right curious to regard euery thyng. He came to Rome to see the maiestie of the sacred Senate: the heyght of the high capitol enuironned with the Colliet: the multitude of senators, the wisdom of the counsaillours, the glozy of triumphes, the correction of the yll, the peace of the inhabitauntes, the diuersitee of nations, the abundance of the maintenance, the order of the offices, and finally seying that Rome was Rome, he was demanded how he seemed therby: He answered and said, O Rome in this thy present world, thou art full of vertues and wise men; hereafter thou shalt be furnished with fooles. Lo what hygh and very high wordes were these? Rome was. xl. C. yeres without necessity of houses of fooles, and now it hath  
been

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AVRELIYS.

bene. iiii. C. yeres without one wyse or  
vertuouse. Alike what I sai, it is no moc  
kerp, but of trouth, if the pitieful goddis  
now a daies did reisse our predeceffours  
fro death to lyfe, eyther thei would not  
know vs for their children, or elles at  
tache vs for fooles. These be the thinges  
bled in Rome, but thou sendest no worde  
of that is bled in Agripine, I will wryte  
nathyng to the, to put the to peine: wryte  
to me some thyng to reioyce me, if thy  
wyse Dynsylla chanced well of the flote  
that came out of Cetyll with salt, oyle, &  
hony, I caused it to be well prouided for  
hir. Witte thou, that Flodius our vncle  
was cast down by rage of his horse, and  
is deceased. Laertia and Colodius are  
freendes together, by occasion of a ma  
riage. I do sende the a gowne, I pray to  
the goddes to sende the ioy therof. My  
wife Faustine saluteth the. Recommed  
me to Iamyro thy sonne. The gods haue  
the in keepyng, and contrary fortune bee  
fro me. Marcus thy freend to the Catus  
lus his owne.

¶ letter

**A** letter sent by Marke the emperour to  
the amoureuse ladies of Rome, be-  
cause thei made a play of him.

The. xiiii. letter.



Arke oratour learnynge at  
Rhodes the arte of Humaniti-  
tee, to you amozous ladies of  
Rome salutacio to your per-  
sones, & amendment of your  
desired lyfe. It was wytten to me, that  
at the feast of the mother of the goddes,  
Berecinthia, all ye together there pre-  
sent played, and gested on me: whereyn  
ye layed for an example of my lyfe and  
my renoume. It is shewed me, that A-  
uilia composed it, Lucia Fulua wrote  
it, and thy selfe Toringula dyd syng it,  
and ye all together dyd presente it to the  
theathre: ye haue poztreated and pain-  
ted me in dyuers maners, with a booke  
in my hande tourned contrary as a fay-  
ned philosophier: with a tonge alone, as  
a bolde speaker without measure, with  
a horne in my heade, as a common cuc-  
kolde, with a nettell in my hande, as a  
tremblyng louer: with a baner fallen  
downe, as a cowards capitayns: with  
halfe

# AVRELIVS.

halfe a bearde, as a feminate man: with  
a cloth before myne eyes, as a condemp-  
ned vababounde: and yet not contente  
with this, but the other day ye portraie-  
ed me in a newe maner. Ye made my  
figure, with feete of straw, my legges  
of ambre, my knees of wood, the thighes  
of brasse, the bealy of horne, the armes  
of pitche, the handes of mace, the head  
of pello, the eares of an asse, the eyes of  
a serpent, the heares of rootes lagged,  
the teeth of a catte, the tounge of a sco-  
pion, and the forehead of leade, wher-  
in was witten in two lines these let-  
ters, M, R, T, R, I, S, W, S, the whi-  
che meneth (as I do take it) The mor-  
tal man taketh not the state so straunge,  
as the doublenesse of the lyfe: and than  
ye went to the ryuer, and therein tyed  
his heade downwarde a hole daie. And  
yf the lady Messalyn had not bene, I  
thinke it had ben tyed there tyll now.  
And now ye amorous ladies haue wri-  
ten to me a letter by Fulvius Fabriti-  
us, wherof I receyued no payne, but as  
an amorous man, from the handes of  
ladies I take it as a mockery. And to  
the intent that I shoulde haue no tyme  
for to thynke thereon, ye sente to wryt a  
ques

M A R C V S

question of me, that is: if I haue founde  
in my wyprynges, wherof, by whom,  
where, whan, what, and how the syt  
womenne were made. And because my  
complexion is to take mockes for moe-  
kynges, and sythe ye demaunde it, I  
shall shewe it you and your freendes  
and myne, and specially Fuluius your  
messenger hath desired me thereto. There  
is nothyng, wherof I complayne, but  
I will holde my peace, saue to your let-  
ter and demaund I will aunswere. And  
sith there hath bene none for to aske the  
question, I protest, that to none other  
but to you amorous women of Rome,  
I sende myne answer. And if any other  
honest lady will take the demaunde of  
you, it is a token that she hath enuy of  
the office that ye be of. Certainly if anye  
ladie sheweth hir selfe enioyed with  
your peine openly, fro hens forth I con-  
demne hir, that she kepe no faulte that  
she knoweth in secrete. They that bee  
on the stage, feare not the roryng of the  
bull: and he that is in a dungeon, fea-  
reth not the shotte of artyllarpe: I wyll  
say, a woman of good lyfe feareth no  
man with an yll tongue. The good ma-  
trones maie keepe me for theyr perpe-  
tual

# AVRELIUS.

small seruauit, and they that be yll, for  
their chiefe enemy. Now to aunswer  
the question, to know wherof the fyrste  
women were made, I say, that accor-  
dyng to the diuersitie of nations, that  
be in the worlde, dyuers opinions I  
fynde in this case.

The Egyptians say, that whan the  
fludde of Nyle ranne abrode, and wa-  
tered the earthe, there abode certayne pe-  
ces of earthe, cleaupnge together lyke  
greace, and than the heate commyng in  
them, created many wilde beastes, and  
so amonge theim was founde the fyrste  
woman. Note ye ladies, that it was  
necessary, that the flud of Nyle should  
flowe ouer his bymmes, that the fyrst  
woman might be made on the earth. Al  
creatures are bredde in the entrailes of  
theyr mothers, except the woman that  
was bred without a mother. And thys  
semeth trewe, that without mothers ye  
wer borne, because without rule ye liue  
and without order ye die. Aureli he put-  
teth him selfe to many traualles, and  
hath many wyles to fynde, and many  
tymes to thynke, and to aske manys  
succoures, and to abyde manys yea-  
res, and to choose amonge many wo-

ment that wyll rule one onely wyse by  
 reason. Be the beastes neuer so cruell  
 and fierce, at the laste the lyon is ledde  
 of his keper without any bande. The  
 bull is closed in the parke: the byddell  
 ruleth the horse, a litle hooke catcheth  
 the fishe, and the wolfe suffreth  
 to be tyed: onely a woman is a beste  
 vnable to be tamed, and neuer leaseth  
 hir boldnes for any thyng that is com-  
 maunded hir, nor the byddell, for not  
 beyng commaunded. The goddes haue  
 made men as men, and beastes as bea-  
 stes, and the humaine vnderstandynge  
 very high, and his strength of a greate  
 power: but yet is there no man, be he  
 neuer so high, that shall scape the wo-  
 man lightly, nor defende him be he ne-  
 ver so strong. But I say to you my lady-  
 es: There is no spurres that can make  
 you goe, nor raines that can holde you,  
 nor byddell that can refayne you, nor  
 angle or nette that can take you: and fi-  
 nally there is no lawe can subdue you,  
 nor shame refayne you, nor scare a-  
 bash you, nor chastisement amend you.  
 O to what an yll aduenture putteth he  
 hym selfe, that thynketh to rule and  
 correct you. For if ye take an opinion  
 in

in hande, all the worlde shall not drabe  
 you from it: if a man tell or warne you  
 of any thyng, ye will neuer beleue him:  
 If one giue you good counsell, ye wpll  
 not take it: if one threaten you, anone  
 ye complayne: if one flatter you, than  
 ye ware proude: if one reioyce not in  
 you, ye are spitefull: if one forbear  
 you, it maketh you bolde: if ye be cha  
 stised, yetourne to Serpentes: finally  
 a woman will neuer forgeue any inu  
 ry, nor giue thank for any good deede.  
 Now a daies the most simple of al wo  
 men, I sweare, will sweare, that she  
 knoweth lesse than she dooeth: and of  
 trouth, the most wisest mans wit shall  
 fayle in their reasons: and yet the wy  
 sest of them swarueth from al wisdom.  
 Wpll ye know my Ladies, how littell  
 ye knowe, and how muche ye be igno  
 rant: That is, ye determine sodenly in  
 harde thynges of grauitie, as if ye had  
 studied for it a thousand yeres: and if a  
 ny gaynslay you, ye take him as a mo  
 tall enemy. Hardy is that woman, that  
 dare giue counsayl to a man, but he is  
 more hardie that taketh it of a woman.  
 But I say, he is a foole that taketh it,  
 and he more foole that asketh it, and he



is much more foolish, that fulfilleth it.  
 Myne opinion is, that he that will not  
 fall among so many stoanes, nor prick  
 hym among so many thornes, nor bly  
 ster hym amonge so many nettys, let  
 him heare what I wyll say, and doo as  
 ye shall see: speake well and worke yll:  
 In promysynge promise muche, in fulfil  
 lynge fulfill nothyng, and finally al  
 low your wordes, and condemne your  
 counsellors. If one should demaunde  
 now a dayes of diuers right renowned  
 persons, that ben dead, how they dyd  
 with the counsell of women whan they  
 liued: I am sure, they woulde not haue  
 ryfen than to beleue them, nor at this  
 houre to bee reuyued agayne to heare  
 them. How was kynge Phylip of  
 Macedon wyth Olympias: Paris  
 with Helena: Alexander with Basa  
 na: Eneas with Dido: Hercules with  
 Dejanira: Hanniball with Chambyra:  
 Nero with Agrippine: and if ye wyll  
 not beleue, what they suffered wyth  
 them, demaunde of me how I dooe a  
 monge other. O ye women, I remem  
 brynge that I am borne of one of you,  
 abhorre my lyfe: and I thynkynge that  
 I liue with you, desire death, for there  
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Is none other deathe as to treate with  
 you, and no better lyfe than to flee from  
 you. It is a common sayng among wo  
 men, that we men be unkynde, because  
 we beyng borne in your entayles, dooe  
 entreate you as bonde women and ser  
 uantes: and ye saie, sith ye bere vs with  
 perill, and nouryshe vs with tranayle,  
 that it were conuenient and iuste, that  
 we alwayes should be occupied in your  
 seruices. Oftentymes I haue studied,  
 why men desire women so much. There  
 is no eyes but they ought to weepe, no  
 hearte but it shoulde breake, no spirite  
 but it shoulde be sorowfull to see a wise  
 manne losse by a foolyshe woman. The  
 foolishhe louer passeth the daie to satisfie  
 his sight, the darke night to comble  
 with vaine thoughtes, one daie herpyng  
 tidynge, an other daie he offreth ser  
 uice: one time louing darkenes, an other  
 tyme he hateth lpyghte: he dyeth with  
 companie, and louethe solitarie: and fi  
 nally the poore folishe louer may that he  
 will not, and wylleth that he maie not.  
 More ouer the counsell of his freendes  
 prosypteth hym not, nor the shame of his  
 enemies, nor losse of his goodes, nor the  
 aduerture of honoz, nor losing of his lyfe,

MARCVS

no: sekynge of death, no: comming nere,  
 no: going farre, no: seing with eyes, no:  
 hearyng with eares, no: tastynge with  
 moutho, no: yet feelyng of hande: and  
 finally to atteygne victorie, he hath al-  
 waie warre against hym selfe. I wold  
 these louers knewe fro whence loue pro-  
 cedeth, it is this. The entrailes that we  
 are bred in, is of fleshe: the brestes that  
 we sucke, ar of fleshe: the armes that  
 we are nourished in, be of fleshe: the wo-  
 kes that we doe, are of the fleshe, by the  
 whiche occasions cometh the repeale of  
 our fleshe to their fleshe. Many free her-  
 tes fall into the snares of loue. It sees  
 meth well my ladies, that ye ar brought  
 vp in puddelles, as the Egyptians saie:  
 The puddelles keepe no cleere water to  
 drynke, no: fruite to eate, no: fishe to be  
 taken, no: vessell to saile with: I do say,  
 ye are fowle in your luyng, shamefull  
 in your persons, in aduersitee feble and  
 lethie, in prosperitee subtyll and wply,  
 false in woordes, doubtful in your wo-  
 kes. In hatyng ye keepe a disorder, ex-  
 treeme to loue, auaricious to geue, vn-  
 shamefast to take, and I saie ye are a  
 receite of feare, where as wyle men find  
 perill, and symple men suffre. In you  
 wyle

wise men holde their renounies dis-  
sallowed, and the simple men they lyse in  
penurie.

¶ Let vs leaue the opinions of the E-  
gyptians, And come to the Greekes,  
whiche saie, that in the desertes of A-  
rabie, the sunne shyneth most hotte, and  
they saie, that at the begynnyng, there  
appeared a woman alone, with a byrde  
called Phenix, the whiche byrde they  
saie, was created of the water, and the  
woman of the great heate of the sunne,  
and of the corruption of the poude that  
falleth fro the trees, whiche the wormes  
doe eate. In this wyse there was a tree  
soze eaten with wormes, and it chanced  
by heate of the sunne, and drythe of the  
powder, that a fyre kendeled, and so  
brent it, and than of the fyre and pow-  
der of the saied brent tree, the fyrst wo-  
man was made. And though I be a phi-  
losopher Romaine, I wyll not saie that  
the opinion of the Philosophier Greeke  
was yll. For of trouthe ye Ladies that  
be amorous, haue your tongues of the  
nature of fyre, and your condicions of  
the rottenesse of the powder of wood.  
After the diuersitee of beastes, nature  
bath but some strength in diuers partes

# MARCVS

of their bodie, as the eagle in the beake,  
the vnicozne in hir horne, the serpent in  
the tayle, the bull in the head, the beare  
in the armes, the horse in the bzeast, the  
dog in the teeth, the hogge in the groin,  
the wood doue in hir whinges, and wo-  
men in their tonges. Of trouth the flight  
of the wood doue is not so high, as the  
phantasie of your folies, noz the catte  
scratcheth not so soze with hir nayles,  
as ye scratche fooles with your impo-  
runiters: noz the dog hurteth not them,  
that he renneth at, as ye doo the sorow-  
full louer that serueth you: noz he is  
not in so great peryll of his life that cat-  
cheth the Bull by the hoarnes, as the  
good fame of the louer is, that falleth  
into your handes. And fynally the ser-  
pent hath not so muche popson in hys  
tayle, as ye haue in your tounge. Set  
all the good Romayne ladies apart: for  
there be many, of whom there is no  
complaynte of theyr personnes, noz sus-  
pection of their good names. Of all su-  
re my letter speaketh not, noz my pene  
wryteth not of them, but of other: I  
speake of women that be suche, that all  
venemous beastes haue not so muche  
popson in theyr bodie, as they haue in  
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their tongues. And ſith that the goddes  
haue commaunded, and our deſtinies  
doo permit, that the life of men can not  
paſſe without women: therfore I ad-  
uertife theſe young people, and prayes  
them that be old, and awake wiſe men,  
and teache the ſimple, to flee away from  
women of yll name, rather than from a  
common peſtilence.

¶ Readyng the auncient lawes of Pla-  
to, I find wrytten thus: we commaund,  
that all women openly infamed, be o-  
penly put out of the citie, to the entente  
that other ſeyng their ſinnes not unpun-  
niſhed, may abhorre the ſinne for feare  
to fall into the ſame pain. Alſo the ſame  
law ſaith: We commaund, that pardon  
be geuen to a woman of all the fautes  
committed by hir owne body, yf any a-  
mendement be ſene in hir: but neuer to  
pardon them that haue committed ſinne  
with their tongues. For committing ſinne  
with an yll perſon, is of fragilitie, but  
with the tong it is of pure malice.

¶ O diuine Plato, maiſter & meaſure  
of all vnderſtanding, and prince of all  
Philophers, when thou madeſt that  
lawe in the golden worlde, that there  
was neuer ſuche ſcarſitie of yll women,  
and

and so greate aboundance of good wo-  
men in Grece. What shall we doe now  
in Rome, where there be so many plo-  
penly, and so few good in secretes. Na-  
turally they wer wont to be shamefaste  
in their visages, temperate in wordes,  
wise of witte, sobze in goyng, mecke in  
conuersacion, pitifull in correction, wel  
regarding their liuyng, not keepynge  
companies, stedfast in promesse, and  
constaunt in loue. Finally let not the  
women that wyll be good, trust in the  
wisdomme of wise men, nor in the flat-  
tery of light folkes. But let hir ver-  
tuously regarde hir renoume, and be-  
ware alwaies of any man that maketh  
hir any promise. For after that the fla-  
mes of Venus be sette on fyre, and Lu-  
pide hath shotte his arrowes, the ryche  
man offereth all that he hath, the poore  
manne all that he may, the wyse man  
saieth, he will be hir great freende, and  
the synple alwaie hir seruaunt, the  
wyse man wyll lose his life for hir, and  
the foole wyll take his death for hir.  
The old man wyll say, he wyll be frend  
to hir freendes: and the yong man wyll  
say, he wyll be enemy to hir enemies.  
Some wyll promesse to pay hir debtes,  
and

and other to reuenge hir iniuries. Finally to hide their pouertie, and to shew their beautie, they leaue these fooles losing their persones and good names, I will leaue to speake of good woomen, for it is not myne intēt to lay any thing to their charge: but to aduertise theim well, I demaunde of you amorous ladies, yf Plato was there, whan ye made a play of my lyfe, and drew my fygure about in Rome? No surely, in dede by that I see in you, at this tyme, it is suspicious that is sayde of other. For there is but a few in Rome, whom Plato and his law doeth excuse. One thyng ye can not deny, yf I were the worst of all men, at the laste ye haue founde the ende of my bilanies. And ye can not deny me, but she that is leaste yll of you, in all my lyfe I coulde not shew the malice of hir lyfe. It is greates perill to wise woemen, to be neighbours to fooles: Greate perill it is to theym that be shamefaste, to bee with theym that be shamelesse: great peryll it is to them that be of meeke and styll maner, to be with them that be bold and rude: great peryll it is for them that be chaste to be with them that liue in aduoutrie: grea te



M A R C V S.

great peryll it is for the honourable, to  
be with them that be diffamed. For the  
women defamed, thinke that all other  
be defamed, and desire that they should  
be defamed, and procure to haue them  
defamed, and say they be yll famed.  
And to the entente to couer their owne  
infamy, they infame all other that bee  
good. O you ladies in amours, it is  
long sith ye knew me and I you: and  
yf ye speake, I speake, yf ye knowe, I  
know, if ye be still, I am still: if ye speke  
openly, I wil not speke in secrete. Thou  
knowest well Aulina, that made the  
test, how Cumedes solde calues derer  
in the boucherie, than thou shouldest the  
innocent virgines in thy house. Thou  
knowest well Turinga, that one daye  
thou rekenest all thy louers, but thou  
couldest not reckon them on thy fingers  
but despyrest to haue a bushell full of  
peason. and thou Lucia Fulua knowest  
well, whan thou were thou wottest  
where, with Breto, and madest peace  
with thy husbände, thou tookest him a  
syde, and saydest, but if thou myghtest  
lye oute of thy house ones a weeke, he  
should not lie in the house. And thou  
Metozia knowest well, that in thy pong  
daies

dases, & two yerres thou were appoynted  
 on the sea with a pirate, so that he shuld  
 take no mo to satysfie a. C. men of war  
 in the galee. Thou Egna Corcia know-  
 west well, that whan the consore entred  
 to take the, he founde. v. mens gounes,  
 in whiche thou wentest euer by nyght,  
 and thou haddest but one womannes  
 gozne, that thou warest on by date.  
 Thou knowest well Desilane Fabrice,  
 that Aluinus Metellus, and thou bes  
 yng marped, befoze the Censore deman-  
 ded openly his part, of that thou gatest  
 in thy house with thy secrete louers.

And thou Camill knowest well, not bes  
 yng content with thin own nacion, but  
 by reason of the greatte hauntynge that  
 thou hadst with straungers, thou canst  
 speake all maner of languages. I wyll  
 marke them that haue marked me, and  
 hurte them that haue hurte me, perse-  
 cute theim that haue persecuted me, and  
 infame theim, that haue infamed me:  
 All other my pen doeth pardon, because  
 they haue pardoned me in theyr plaie.

And because my letter hath begunne in  
 that ye haue done to my persone, ther-  
 fore I will end it in that it feleth of your  
 good names, And thus I conclude, that a  
 man

M A R C V S.

man maie scape free fro all domages,  
with abstepning fro them: But fro wo-  
men there is no waie, but to flee fro  
theim. Thus I ende, and demaunde of  
the goddes, that I maie see of you, as ye  
desyre to see of me. And sith ye be louers,  
I counsaile you as ye haue sent me your  
test for a mocke, in lyke wyse for a mocke  
to receiue the aunswere. Marke Robian  
to the amorous ladies of Rome.

**A** letter sent by Marc the emperor to  
Boemia, a louer of his that wold haue  
gone with hym to the warres.

**The. xv. letter.**



Arke pretour Romayne  
sente to the warres of  
Dacy, sendeth salute to  
thee his louer Boemia,  
whiche art in the plesu-  
res of Rome. I beyng  
scaped fro the cruell battell, haue red the  
few lynes wrytten with thy hande, and  
haue herde of the a longe informacion.  
I saie to the. thou hast put me in a more  
greate abasshement, than the feare of  
myne enemies. In taking thy letter in-  
to

AVRELIVS.

to my hand, forth with the herbe of malice entred into my herte. Whan I tempre my body with thy delytes, I thinke my herte is free fro the ventime of thy amours. I of my will, and thou because thou canst do no moze, we haue geuen vs to be free of our pleasures, I thynke as well as to make a deuorle of your enemies. But such as ye be, so ye do, banishementes of amours, and treasures of passions. The loue of you all ought to be digested with pilles: but the passion of one of you will not be oppressed with all the Rubarbe in Alexandrie. ye shew your self cruel to pardon an enemy, and every date lyght to chaunge louers. Curiously I haue kepte you all the whyle that delytes ouerpressed my youth: yet I coulde neuer se in any woman no certaintie, nor reason in loue, but hate at the last. Thy present lyghtnesse quarelleth with my youth paste: and it is because thou seeest not in me the aunciente will towarde the, nor the presente seruice. And certainly hearing thyne accusation, and not my iustification, as iustly thou paieest me with death, as I pay the with forgetfulnes. The whiche forgetting is a straunge to bee in hym

Am

that

that serueth, as vngentilnesse in the lady that is serued. Thinkest thou, that I haue forgotten the lawe of Venus, where as it commaundeth, that the curious louers should exercise theyr strengthes in armes, and occupie their hertes in loue: and also that their apparell be very cleanelly, their fete well compassed, their bodies stedfast and not waueryng, theyr voyces lowe and soft, and sadde in countenance: their eyes open gasyng at wyndowes, and their hertes redy to flee in the ayre. Of trowth my loue Boemia, he is but a grosse louer, that holdeth his wyll in captiuitie, and his vnderstanding free. I he vnderstandyng ought to bee losse, where as will is in pryson. I saie this to the entent that though myne age haue leste the exercise, yet my spryte hath not forgotten the art. Thou complaynest, because I geue my selfe to reste, and that I haue greatly forgotten thee. I will not deny the trowth: the daies of forgettyng waketh the muster of my thoughtes, and reason whiche is pryncesour declarcth, that it is not to my grauntee to permit, that I should loue, nor thy age to suffre to be beloued. As now  
 thou

AVRELIVS.

thou knowest, that diuers thynges,  
 that youth dissimuleth in younge per-  
 sons, in age meriteth greuous correcti-  
 on. The dedes done in youth procedeth  
 of ignorance: but the villanies doone in  
 age procedeth of malice. Whan I kept  
 the Cautions, I setted in the streetes,  
 I sang balades, I gased to the wyne  
 bowes, I plaid on instrumentes, I  
 scaled the wals, I wakened light per-  
 sons: thinkest thou that I wiste what  
 I did in my youth: and now that I see  
 my selfe promoted fro these pleasures,  
 and decked with so many whyte hea-  
 res, and apparalled with so many do-  
 lours, I thynke now I was not than,  
 or elles I dreame as now, not know-  
 yng the wayes that I haue gone, nor  
 leyng the wayes full of stones, I haue  
 fallen er I was ware, I haue fallen in  
 snares: sek yng no guide, I was entred  
 into the whirle poole: and by the gro-  
 senes of my boldenesse, I was lost, and  
 therfore I haue deserued pardon, And  
 now that I am oute of the thornes  
 and bushes, thou wouldest haue me fur-  
 ther in than euer I was. And now that  
 I can not take the purgations, thou  
 offerest to me syzops. I haue watched  
 all

M A R C V S

all nyght, and touched newly the alarme. For thy aunient amitie I pray thee, and coniure the in the name of the goddes, sith that my hearte is rebell against thy wyll, whiche is right doubtefull: cause me to leade to desire thee thus without doubt. And to the entent that thou shouldest not thynke any vnkyndnes in my whyte heares, as I may argue thy face of idelnes, I wyll that we recken whan we haue wonne, or hope to wyne. Shew me what cometh of these pleasures: the tyme yll spente, good name is scatteryng to pardicion; the patrimonie wasted, the credence losse, the goddes annoyed, the vertues sclaundered, the name of brute beastes got, and surnames of shame: suche ye and we and other be. Thou wyrttest in thy letter, how thou wylt leaue Rome, and come and see me in the warres of Dacy. Seynge thy self I laugh, and knowlegging thy boldnes I beleue the. And whan I thinke thus I take thy letter agayne out of my bosome, & beholde the seale, doubtyng if it be thy letter or not. Thou alterest my pulces and felnyges of my herte, and the colour of my face chaungeth, imagenyng, that either  
 shame

Shame surmounteth in the, or elles gra-  
uitee faileth in me. For suche lyghtnesse  
should not be beleued, but of lyke light  
personnes. Thou knowest well, he that  
doeth yll, meriteth peine sooner than he  
that doeth infamy. I would wist, whi-  
ther thou wilt go? Thou hast ben cut  
for bertinace, and now thou wouldest be  
solde for wyne. Thou beganst firste as  
cherics, and thou wilt be last as quins-  
tes: we haue eaten thee in blossomes, &  
thou wilt be lyke the fructe: the nattes  
are very good, but the shales be harde,  
with strawe and donge thou arte made  
rype, and thou arte rotten, and if thou  
be rotten, thou arte to be lothed. Thou  
art not content with fortye yeares, that  
thou hast, of the which, fiue and twenty  
yeres are passed in tast as wine, that is  
to be solde, and as strawberies hid vn-  
der the leaues that are corrupt and rot-  
ten. Art not thou Boethia, that lacketh  
two teeth, the eyes holowed, with white  
heares, and a riueld face, one hande  
lost with the goute, and a ribbe marred  
with childe beryng: whither wilt thou  
goe? put thy selfe than in a barell, and  
cast thee and it into the riuer, and thou  
shalt come out all weate. We haue ea-



MARCVS

ten the freshe fish, and now thou wouldest brynge hither the rustie old salt fish in steede therof. O Boemia Boemia, now I know there is no trust in youth nor hope in age. Thou complainest, that thou hast nothyng. That is an olde quarell of the amorous ladies of Rome, whiche takynge all, say they haue nothyng: and that ye lacke of credence, ye doo fulfyll with money. Therfore beleue me louyng freende, the solishe estate that procedeth of vnlawfull wyynyng, gyueth small suertie, and lesse good name to the person. I can not tell how thou hast spent so muche. For if I drew of my ringes with one hand, thou biddest open my purse with the other hande. I had greater warres with my coassers than, than I haue now with mine ennemies. I coulde neuer haue te well, but thou wouldest demaund it: for I did neuer denie thee. Now at this houre I meruaile, for in this mine age I finde great hinderance by my youth. Thou complainest of trauaile and povertie. I am he that hath great nede of that medicine for this opilation, and a plaister for that soore, and to haue some colde water for that hotte feuer. Arise thou

AVRELIUS.

thou not aduysed, that I banyshed my  
necessitee in the lande of forgetfulnesse,  
and dyd sette vp thy wyll for the request  
of my scrupce: In wynter I wente all  
bare, and in sommer charged with clo-  
thes, I wente on foote in the myre, and  
rode in the fayre way: whan I was he-  
rie, I loughed, and whan I was mery,  
I wepte. For dreade I drewe forth my  
strengthes, and oute of my strengthes  
cowardyse. The nyghtes to sigh, and  
on the daie to wayte where thou wens-  
test by. Whan thou haddest neede of a-  
ny thyng, I was sayne to robbe my fa-  
ther for it. Tell me Boemsa, with whom  
fulfillest thou thyne open folies, but  
with the yllorders that I put my selfe  
to in secrete: Wotte ye what me see-  
meth by you amorous ladies of Rome:  
ye are in the courte as the litlell mothes  
eatyng olde cloathes, and a pastyme  
for lyghte folkes, treasourers of fooles,  
and Sepulchres of byces. This that  
seemeth me is, that if in thy youth eu-  
ry man gaue to thee, because thou shoul-  
dest geue to every manne, nowe thou  
geuest thy selfe to every manne, because  
every manne should geue him to thee.  
Thou tellest me, that thou haste two

M A R C V S

sonnes, and lackest helpe for theim, yeld  
graces to the goddes of the pittie that  
they haue bled with thee, they haue ge-  
uen to .xv. childzen of Fabrizio my nep-  
hour but one father, and to two of thy  
childzen only, thei haue geuen fiftie fa-  
thers. Therfore deuyde theim amonge  
their fathers, and euery man shall not  
haue one synger. Lucia thy doughter in  
deede, and myne by suspecte, remember  
that I haue doone more in maryng of  
hir, than thou diddest in hir procreaci-  
on. For to the gettyng of hir, thou didest  
call diuers, and to mary hir I did it a-  
lone. I write to the but lyttell, to the  
respects of that I wolde wyte. Butrio  
Cornelio hath spoken much on thy part,  
he hym selfe shall shewe the as much of  
my part. It is longe agoe sith I knew  
thine impacience. I know well thou  
wilt sende me an other letter more ma-  
licious. I pray thee sith I wrote to thee  
secretely, defame me not openlie. And  
whan thou redest this letter, remember  
what occasiōs thou geuest me to write,  
and though that we be no freendes, yet  
will I not leaue to sende thee spluer, I  
send the a gowne, and the gods be with  
thee, and byng me out of this warre  
with

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AVRELIVS.

with peace. Marke pretour in Dacie to  
his aunciente louer Boemia.

¶ The aunswere to the Emperours  
letter, sente by Boemia.

¶ The.xvi.letter.

**B**oemia thine auncient lo-  
uer, to the Marc of mount  
Celio hir moztall enemye.  
I desire vengeance of thy  
person, and yll fortune for  
all thy life. I haue recey-  
ued thy letter, and therby perceiue thy  
damnable intentes and thy cruell ma-  
lices. Suche yll personnes as thou arte  
haue this priuiledge, that sith one doeth  
suffre your byllanies in secrete, ye will  
hurte theim openlie, but thou shalte not  
doe so with me Marke: for though I be  
not treasouresse of thy treasures, yet at  
least I am treasouresse of thine plinnesse:  
and where as I canne not reuenge me  
with my personne, I shall labour to doe  
it with my tongue. And thynke, that  
though we be women weake, and our  
bodles soone ouercome, yet wite it for  
certayne, that our hertes are neuer van-  
quished. Thou saiest, that scappng from  
Am b a bat

# M A R C V S

a battayle, thou shouldest receyue me letter, whereof thou were soze abashed. It is a veray common thyng to them that be weake and slacke, to speake of loue, wanton fooles, to treate of bookes, and to cowardes to babble of armes: I say it, because the answering to a letter was not of necessitie to rehearse to a woman as I am, whether it were before the battaile or after. I know well thou art scaped fro it, for thou were not the fyrst that fought, nor the last that fledde. When thou were young, I neuer saw thee goe to the warre, that euer I dyed or had suspect of thy lyfe: for knowyng thy cowardyse, I neuer tooke care for thyne absence, for therin I was moste sure of thy person. When Marke tell me now, what thou doest in thine age, I thynke thou bearest thy speare, not for to iuste in the warre, but for to leane on when the goute greveth thee. Thy helmer I deeme thou bearest with thee, to drynke with in tauerne, and not to defende thee from the stroakes of sweardes: for I neuer sawe thee strike men with thy sweard, but I haue knowne thee fleo a thousande women with thy tongue. O malicious and unhappy

Marke,

Marke  
arte n  
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as the  
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see, I  
woyd

# AVRELIVS.

Marke, if thou were as valiant as thou  
 arte malicious, thou shouldest bee as  
 gretly dread of the Barbarike nations,  
 as thou arte hated, as reason is, of the  
 matrons of Rome. Tell me what thou  
 list, at the least thou canst not deny, but  
 as thou hast been a weake and slacke la-  
 uer, so thou art now a weake and slacke  
 toward knight, an vnknown freend, a  
 varicious, infamed, malicious, cruell,  
 enemy to every man, and freend to no  
 bodye. And we that haue knowen thee,  
 yong, strong, and lustie, condemne the  
 for an olde foole. Thou saiest, that ta-  
 kyng my letter into thy hands, thy hert  
 tooke the payson of malice. I beleue it  
 well without swearyng, for any thing  
 beyng malicious, forthwith findeth  
 lodgyng in thy house. Beastes, that be  
 corrupte, lyghtly take the payson, that  
 they that been of good complexion caste  
 away. Of one thyng I am in certayne,  
 thou shalt not die of payson. For one be-  
 nygn oftentimes destroyeth an other be-  
 nygn. O malicious Marke, if all they  
 that knowe thee, as well as so to  
 full Boemia dooeth, they should soone  
 see, what difference were betwene the  
 wordes that thou speakest, and the in-  
 tencion

M A R C V S

tion of thy heart. And if by the wyl-  
 tynges that thou makest, thou meritest  
 to haue the name of a Philosopher, by  
 the ylnesse that thou doest inuent, thou  
 doest merite to haue the name of a ty-  
 rant. Thou saiest, thou sawest neuer  
 certitude in the loue of a womā, noz end  
 of hir hate. I haue greatte glozpe,  
 that other ladies beside me haue know-  
 lage of thy small wysedom, I see Marc,  
 I will not mocke thee, thou arte suche  
 one, as neuer deserued, that one should  
 begyn to loue the, noz leaue to hate thee.  
 Wylt thou haue certitude in loue. And  
 thou vnfaithfull of thy seruice: Wylte  
 thou serue with mockeries, and woul-  
 dest be loued truely: Wilt thou enioye  
 the person, without spendynge of any  
 of thy gooddes: Wylte thou haue no  
 complaintes of thee, and thou not cea-  
 syng thy malices: Thou sayest, thou  
 knowest the ylnesse of women. I wyl  
 thou knowe, we be not so foolish, as  
 thou thynkest, noz thou so wise, as thou  
 weeneest, to praise thy selfe. Yet hitherto  
 hath been seen manen, to folow the ap-  
 petite of women, then there hath bene  
 women folowynge the wyll of men. In  
 none of bothe is greate truste, and yet  
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AVRELIVS.

we bothe practyse, that one man hath  
his herte so mightie, to bee more wy-  
ser than thre wise women, and one wo-  
man thinketh hir so stronge, to put vn-  
der hir feete, and overcome. iiii. ¶ Such  
as be light. Thou saiest, thou art aba-  
shed of my lyghtnesse, to leaue Rome,  
and come to thee beyng in the warres.  
Greate is the loue of the countrey, sithe  
that many leaue diuers wealthes that  
they haue in straunge landes, and liue  
straitly, for to lyue in their own land:  
but greater is my loue, sithe that I  
would leaue Rome with all the pleasu-  
res, to goe and serche for the in straung  
landes among the cruel batailles. O ma-  
licious Marke, O straunge louer, if I  
leaue Rome, it were to goe and seke my  
herte beyng in the batayles with thee.  
And certaynly diuers tymes whan I  
doo thynke on thyne absence, I swoune  
and sorow as my hearte were not with  
me, and yet I fynde no perfite remedy.  
I thynke our loue is not lyke these bea-  
stes, that ioy of their pleasures, with-  
out to wyll, and desire their willes. I  
swear to thee, by the goddesse Vesta,  
and by the mother Verecynthia, that  
thou owest me more for one day of lone  
that



M A R C V S.

that I haue had to the, than for the ser-  
uices that I haue dooen to thee in. xxi.  
peres. Beholde vnhappy Marke, howe  
much in thy p[re]sence I haue alwaies  
regarded thee, and in thyne absence, I  
haue alwaies thought on thee, and sle-  
ppng I haue alwaies dreamed of thee,  
I haue wept for thy trauayle, & laughed  
at thy pleasure, and finallie all my  
welth I haue wished thee, and al thine  
p[er]ples I haue wished me. I ensue thee  
one thyng, that as now I feele not  
so muche the persecucion that thou do-  
est to me, as I dooe thee misknowlage  
that thou makest to me. It is a great  
sorrow for an auaricious man to see his  
goodes losse, but without comparison  
it is farre greater for the louer to se his  
loue p[er]ll bestowed. It is a hurte that is  
alway sore, and a peine alway p[er]su-  
full, a sorrow alway sorrowfull, and it is  
a death that neuer endeth. O ye men, if  
ye knew with what loue womē loueth  
you in perfittnes whan thei loue, & with  
what hert they hate whan they are set  
to hate: I swere to you ye wold neuer co-  
pany with them in loue: or if ye do loue  
theim, ye would neuer leaue theym for  
seare of their hate, and there is neuer  
great

AVRELIVS.

greate hate, but where as muche longe  
was first. But thou shalt neuer be great  
ly hated, for thou were neuer truly lo-  
ued of ladies. The sorowfull Boemia  
hath loued the. xxi. yere in hir life, and  
nowe she onely hateth the, till after hir  
death. Thou saiest, I maie be eaten for  
beruypce, and yet I woulde besolde for  
wyne. I know wel I haue erred, as one  
that hath bene yong and light, and whā  
I perceiued that I hadde losse my way,  
and that my misaduenture can fynde no  
way nor remedy: It is the greatestt losse  
of all losses, whan there is no remedy.  
I haue erred lyke a feeble and a weake  
woman, but thou hast erred as a strong  
man: I haue erred by symple ignorance  
but thou haste erred of a prepenised and  
willfull malice: I haue erred, not kno-  
wyng that I shoulde haue erred, but  
thou knowest what thou diddest: I  
haue trusted to thy woordes, as to a  
faithfull gentyll man, and thou haste  
begyled me with a thousande leasyn-  
ges as a lyer, Tell me, dyddest thou  
not seeke occasion to comie in to my  
mothers house Betulia, to allure me  
hir doughter Boemia to thy mynde?  
Dyddest thou not promyse my father to  
teache

M A R C V S.

teache me to rede in one yere : and thou  
taughtest me to rede the booke of Out-  
dus, of the arte of lone : Diddest thou  
not sweare to be my husbände, and than  
withdrewest thy hand as a false adou-  
trer : Doest thou not know, that thou  
neuer foundest villany in my personne,  
no, I neuer founde trouth in thy mou-  
the : At least thou canst not deny, but  
thou hast offended the goddes, and arte  
infamed of men, and odious to the Ro-  
mayns, sclaundered of good folkes, and  
example to the yll folkes : and finally  
a traytour to my father and mother, a  
breaker of thy sayth, and to me sorow-  
full Boemia an vnkynde louer. O ma-  
licious Marke, haste thou not cutte me  
in leaues, offering to my father to kepe  
his vines surely : All make the chickyn  
trust the kyte, or the lambes the wol-  
ues, & worse the to bryngs by the dought-  
ers of theim that bee good. O cursed  
Marke, A domeageble keeper of vynes  
hath the matrones of Rome founde the,  
in keepng their doughters : I sweare,  
that there was neyther grape nor clu-  
ster, but it was eaten or cutte by thee.  
Thou dydest eate me beyng grene, I  
promise the it hath set thy teeth on an  
yll

pledge. Thou saiest, I ryped by powder  
of heate and straw. It displeaseth  
me not so muche, that thou saiest, as  
thou geuest me occasion to saie to thee.  
Thy shame is so shamefull and thy ma-  
lice so shamefast, that I can not an-  
swere the to the purpose, without hur-  
tyng or touchyng the quicke. I woulde  
wytte of thee, whan thou marpeddest  
Faustyne, whether thou foundest his  
grene or rype: Thou knowest well, and  
likewise so do I, that other besyde thee,  
ganged the vessell, and thou drankest  
the lies: other gathered the grapes, and  
thou gleinedest the vyne: other dyd eat  
the grapes, & thou hadst the huskes. O  
wicked Marke, behold thynne euils, and  
how the gods haue geuen the iust chastis-  
semēt, that thou beyng yong merytedst  
not to be despyred of thy louers, nor that  
thy wyues keepe scyth to the in thynne  
age. For to be aduenged of thy person,  
I nede none other thyng, but to see the  
marped to Faustyne. By the mother  
Berecynthia I promyse the, that if thy  
small wisedome might attaine to know  
entierly, what is saied of hir and the in  
Rome, surely thou woldest wepe nyght  
and daye for the lyfe of Faustine, and

not leaue the thoughtfull Boemia. **O**  
**M**arc, lyttell thought is taken for the,  
 and how far is our vnderstandyng be-  
 coupled for thy thoughtes, because that  
 with thy greate doctrine by day tyme  
 thy house is made a schoole of philoso-  
 phers, and the wantonnesse of thy wife  
 Faustine by night, maketh it a bozdel  
 of ruffiens. It is a iust iudgement of the  
 goddis, that syth thynе onely malyce  
 suffereth to poyson many that be good,  
 that one alone maie suffice to vntende  
 and lese thy reneume. One difference  
 there is betwene the and me, and thy  
 wyfe Faustine: for my deedes are but  
 in suspect, and yours are openly knowe  
 in dede: myne are secreete, and yours are  
 euydent: I haue strombled, but ye haue  
 fallen. Of one thyng alone I haue mer-  
 ryted to be chastised, but ye haue deser-  
 ued no forgeuenesse: My dishonour is  
 dead with the faute, and is buried with  
 myne amendemente, but your infamy  
 is bozne with your desyzes, & is brought  
 vp with your wyllcs, and lyueth styll  
 with your woorkes: synally therfore  
 your infamy shall neuer dye, for you ly-  
 ued neuer well. **O** malicious **M**arcus  
 with all that thou knowest, wotest thou  
 not

AVRELIVS.

not, that for losing of a good name, all  
 yll fame is recovered: and in the ende  
 of a good lyfe, beginneth a good fame.  
 Thou ceassest not to say ill onely by  
 suspition, the which thy false iudgement  
 shew thee: and yet thou wouldest  
 we should not speake that we see with  
 our eyes. Of one thyng be thou sure,  
 that neither of the, nor of thy wife I haue  
 anye there is no false witnesse: for the  
 trowth is so euident, that there needeth  
 not to inuent any lies. Thou saiest, that  
 it is an olde quarell of amorous ladies  
 of Rome, that in takyng from any we  
 are the porest of all other: because we  
 sayle in credence, we are honoured for  
 splier. It is of certaintie, that we mis-  
 truste the holly because of his prickles,  
 the acornes, for his huskes, the roses a-  
 monge nettles, and thy mouth for thy  
 malice. I haue curiously taken hede,  
 that thou neuer saiest well by women,  
 nor I neuer could finde, that any wold  
 thee good. What greater correction  
 shuld I haue of thy wickednes, or more  
 vengeance for mine iniuries, but to be  
 certain, that all louing ladies of Rome  
 are sorry of thy life, & wold be glad of thy  
 death: The life of a man is wicked, that

An ii

many

many betraye, and in whose death e-  
 uery body reioyseth. It is the propertie  
 of poore vnkynde persons as thou art,  
 to forgette the great goodnesse dooen to  
 theim, and to be sorpy for the lyttell that  
 they giue: As muche as noble hertes  
 glorify them in geuyng to other, so mu-  
 che are they ashamed to receiue serui-  
 ces vntrewarded. For in geuyng, they  
 make theim selfe lordes, and in recey-  
 uing they are as slaues. I would wit  
 what thou hast giuen me, or what thou  
 hast receiued of me: I haue aduentured  
 my good name, and giuen the possession  
 of my person: I haue made thee lord  
 and maister of all my goodes: I haue  
 banished my selfe out of my countrey,  
 and put my selfe in perill onely for thy  
 sake: and in recompence of all this,  
 thou reprochest me now of miserie.  
 Thou neuer gauest me any thyng with  
 thy good wyll, nor I neuer receyued it  
 willyngly, nor it did me neuer profite.  
 All thynges recouer a name, not for the  
 common worke that we see, but for the  
 secreete intencion, with the whiche we  
 worke. And thou unhappy man despy-  
 redst me, not to enioy my person, but  
 rather to haue my money. We ought  
 not

not to call thee a clere louer, but a thefe,  
and a wply fearoner. I had a littel ring  
of thee, which I am determined to call  
into the riuer, and the clothyng that I  
had of the, I haue bzent in the fire. And  
if that my body were any thyng amen-  
ded with the bread that I haue eaten of  
thine, I would cutte my flefhe, and let  
out the bloud without any feare. O cur-  
sed March, thy darke malice would not  
fuffer thee clerely to vnderftand my let-  
ter: for I intended not to afke money, to  
releue my pouertie and folitarines, but  
reknowlagyng and thinkyng to fatis-  
fie my willyng heart. Suche vayne and  
conetous men as thou art thy felfe, are  
pleafed with giftes, but the heartes in-  
carnate in loue, are littell fatisfied with  
fpyluer. For loue onely is pated with  
loue agayne. The man that loueth not  
as a man of reafon, but as a brute beaft,  
and the woman that loueth not but for  
the intereft of hir personne: fuche ought  
not to be trusted in their woordes, nor  
their perfonnes defired. For the loue of  
hir endeth, whan the goodes fayle: and  
the loue of him, whan hir beautie fay-  
leth. If thy loue proceded onely of the  
beautie of my face, and my loue onely



# MARCVS

for the money of thy purse: it were no  
right, that we were called wise louers,  
but rather very nice persons. O wicked  
Marke, I neuer loued the for thy goods-  
des, though thou louedst me for my  
beautie: with all my hert I loued thee  
than, and with all my herte I hate thee  
nowe. Thou saiest the goddes haue shew-  
ed me great pittie, to giue me few chil-  
dren, and to them many fathers. The  
greatest blame in women is to be vn-  
shamefast, and the most vilany in men,  
is to be plaiers. Diuers thynges ought  
to be suffered for the fragilitie of wo-  
men, whiche are not permitted in the  
wisdomme of men. I say this because I  
neuer saw temperance in thee, for to co-  
uer thyne owne malices, noz wisdomme  
to excuse the debilities of other. Thou  
saiest, that my sonnes haue diuers fa-  
thers. I sweare vnto thee, that though  
thou die, the children of Faustine shall  
not be fatherlesse. And of trouth if the  
goddes as thou saiest, haue be pittifull  
to my children, no lesse art thou to strag-  
children. For Faustine kepeth thee, but  
to excuse hir biame, and to be tutour of  
hir children. O cursed Mark, thou mai-  
est well reioyce and take no thought, for  
thing

thine owne childzen haue no nede to bee  
married. For one thyng we are bound,  
that is for the example, the whiche thou  
doest geue of thy patience; For sith thou  
sufferest faultine in so many infamies,  
it is no great nede that we suffer any se-  
crettes in thee. I saia no more at this  
syne, makyng an ende of my letter, be-  
stryng the ende of thy person.

A letter sente by Marcus the empe-  
rour to Matrine a young maiden of  
Rome, of whom he was en-  
amoured, seeyng hir  
at a wyndowe.

The. xvii. letter.



Mark the Emperour,  
the very desirous, to  
the Matrine greatlie  
desired. I wote not if  
by good aduerture of  
mine yl aduerture, or  
by yll aduerture of my  
good aduerture, I did  
se the of late at a window, wher as thou  
heldst thine armes as close as mine eier  
wer spred abroad, that cursed be they for  
euer. For in beholding thy face, my hert

# MARCVS

I tooke with abode with thee as prysoner. The begynnynge of thy knowlage  
 is the end of my reason, and feeling of  
 flight. Of one trauayle cometh infi-  
 nite trauayles to men, I saie it for this,  
 if I had not bene ydell, I had not gone  
 out of my house, and if I had not gone  
 out of my house, I had not gone out in  
 to the streetes, and if I had not passed  
 through the streete, I had not seen the at  
 thy wyndow, and if I had not seen thee  
 at thy wyndow, I had not desired thy  
 person: and not desiering thy person,  
 I had not put thy name in so great per-  
 ril, nor my life in trauayle, nor had ge-  
 uen none occasion in all isome to speake  
 of vs. Of a trowth ladie Matrine, in  
 this case I condemne my selfe, sith I  
 would behold thee. And thou wouldest  
 be saluted, sith thou desierest to bee sene.  
 And sith thou wer set as a white marke  
 it was no great mervayle that I shotte  
 with the arowes of mine eyes at the but-  
 tes of thy beaute, with rourlynge eyes,  
 with browes bente, wel couloured face,  
 incarnate teeth, ruddie lyppes, crispe  
 heares, handes set with rynges, clothed  
 with a thousande manner of clothynges,  
 bearyng purffes full of sweete smelles,  
 and

and bracelets full of knackes, with per-  
les & stones at the eares. Tell me what  
becometh of a woman, with these thin-  
ges, that will she we hir selfe at a wyne-  
dow? The most cause is, that I can es-  
treme oꝝ thinke therein, that sith you doe  
she we your bodie's spely to vs at the ele,  
that your will is, that we should know  
your desires secretly. And if it be so, as  
I affirme that it is so, it seemeth me ma-  
dam Matrine, thou shouldest desire him  
that desireth thee, to enfourme hym  
that searcheth thee, to aunswere hym  
that calleth the, and fele that he feleth,  
intend to him that intendeth to the: and  
sith I vnderstand thee, vnderstand me,  
and vnderstand sith thou dooest not vnder-  
stande. I am aduysed, as I went by  
the strete Falaria to see theues put to  
Justice, myne eien saw thee at a wyne-  
dow, on whom dependeth al my desires.  
Thou dooest moze Justice to me, than  
I doo to the theues: soꝝ I beyng at ius-  
tice, thou haste iusticed the Justice,  
and none dare peyne thee. The gybet is  
not so cruell to theim that neuer knewe  
but yll dooing, as thou arte to me that  
neuer thought, but how I might do the  
seruice. The theues suffer but one death,

An b and

# MARCVS

and thou makest me suffer a thousande  
in a daie. In one houre the theues lines  
are ended, and I dye every minute: I  
draue toward death wrongfullie, and  
thei suffre for their faultes: I suffre an  
innocent, thei openlie, and I in secrets.  
What shall I saie more to thee? Of  
trouthe they wepe watrie droppes with  
their eyes because they die, and I wepe  
teares of bloud in my heart, because I  
liue. This is the difference, their tour-  
mentes spreadeth abroad thorough all  
their bodies, and I keepe mine together  
in mine heart. O cruell Matrine, I can  
not tell what iustice it is to put menne  
to death that steale money, and suffer  
women to liue that robbe mens hertes:  
If their eares bee cutte of, that picke  
menns purses, why are women than  
pardoned, that rob mens inward hertes  
and entrailes? By thy noblenesse I pray  
thee, and by the goddess Venus I con-  
fure thee, either aunswere to my desyre,  
or elles restore my herte againe, whiche  
thou hast robbed from me. I would  
thou knewest the clere faith of my hert,  
rather than this letter wyrtten with  
my hande. If mine aduenture were so  
good as to speake with thee, and that  
thy

thy  
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loy.

thy loue were not ashamed thereof, I  
 woulde hope with the sight and speche  
 to winne that that I am in suspecte to  
 leese by my letter. The reason is, be-  
 cause thou hearest my yll and rude rea-  
 sons readyng my letter. And if thou sa-  
 west me, thou shouldest se the cruel tea-  
 res that I offer to the by my life. I wold  
 my mouth could publishe mine enraged  
 eyelles, as my hearte feeleth, than I  
 swere to thee lady Matrine, that my  
 greuous dolour should awake thy smal  
 thought. And as thy beautie and myne  
 affectiō haue made me thine own: so the  
 knowlage of my passiō shuld make the  
 myne. I desire that thou shouldest re-  
 gard the beginnyng, and there with re-  
 gard the ende. Certainly the same day  
 that thou imprisonedst my heart at thy  
 wyndow, in the dungeon of my desires  
 I had no lesse weakenesse to bee ouer-  
 come, than thou haddest force to con-  
 straine me. And more greater is thy po-  
 wer, to put thy selfe from me, than my  
 reason is to put me from thee. I aske no  
 mercie of thee, but that wee might de-  
 clare our willes together. But in this  
 case, what wilt thou that I shoulde  
 say, but that thou hast so muche power  
 ouer

# MARCVS

ouer me, and I so littell of my libertie,  
 that wyl I, nill I, my hert can not be  
 but thine: and it beyng thine, thou mak-  
 est, and wilt not declare thy selfe to be  
 mine. And sith it may not be, but that  
 my lyfe must be condemned in thy ser-  
 uice, be thou as sure of my faith, as I  
 am doubtfull of thy hope: for I shall  
 haue a greater wealth to be lost for thy  
 sake, than to winne any other thyng. I  
 wyl say no more at this tyme, but that  
 thou accompt my pardicion and death,  
 and drawe the lyfe of my teares into o-  
 pen ioye. And bycause that I holde my  
 faith in thy faith, and will neuer dis-  
 paire in thy hope, I sende to thee. x. lit-  
 tell rynges of golde, with ten stones  
 of Alexandrie. And I coniure thee  
 by the immortall goddes, that  
 whan thou doest put them on  
 thy fingers, thou set me  
 in thyne heart and en-  
 trayles. Marcus a-  
 morous wrote  
 this with  
 his own  
 hand.

Another letter sent by Marke the emperour, to the saide gentill woman Matrime. The .xviii. letter.

**M**Arke habitaunt at Rome, to the Matrime his right swete enemy. I cal the swete, for it is iust that I die for the. And I cal y enemy, bicause thou makest not an end to slea me. I can not tell wherin it is, but sith the feast of Iano hitherto, I haue witten thre letters to the. And to thankewer of them, I wold that I had sene two letters from the, yf it were thy pleasure. If that I serue the thou wouldest that I should not serue: yf I speake, thou wylt not speake to me: if I loke at thee, thou wylt not behold me: if I call the, thou wilt not answer: if I visite thee, thou wilt not see me, yf I write to the, thou wilt giue me none aunswere, and worst of al, if other doe shew thee of my dolours, thou makest but a mocke therof. And if I had as much knowlage, where to complayne to thee, as thou hast power to remedy the playntise, my wisdom should be no lesse be praised amonge wise men, than thy



thy beauty is amonge fooles. I pray  
 the hartely regard not the contrarieties  
 of my reasons, but regarde the fayth  
 of my weppnges, the which in witnes  
 of my peines I do giue vnto the. I wot  
 not what good may come to thee of my  
 harmes, noz what winnyng of my losse  
 thou shouldest hope to gette: noz what  
 suertie of my peril thou shouldest attaine  
 vnto: noz what pleasure of my displea-  
 sure thou maiest haue. I haue had an-  
 swer of my messenger, that without re-  
 dyng of my letters, thou hast with thy  
 hands tozen them all to pieces. It ought  
 to suffice thee to thinke, that my person  
 were beken in quarters, yet I would  
 thou haddest red these small lines lady  
 Matrine, for by the thou shouldest haue  
 sene how my thoughtes were troubled.  
 Ye women are so extreme, that for the  
 faulte of one man, a woman wil cōplain  
 of all other men in generall, so that ye  
 be cruell for one perticular cause. Open-  
 ly ye pardon all mens lyues, and in se-  
 crete ye procure euery mans death. I  
 esteeme it nothyng dame Matrine, that  
 thou haste doone: but I lament me of  
 that thou demaundest Valerius thy  
 neyghbour to say to me. One thyng

AVRELIVS.

I woulde thou haddest in memory, and  
not forgotte, and that is, syth that my  
libertie is so small, and thy power so  
great, because I beyng all wholly mine  
owne, I am tourned to bee thyne, that  
thou shouldest thynke, that whan thou  
wouldest iniury me, thou shouldest doe  
mooste iniury to thy selfe, syth that by  
the I dye, as thou by me doest lyue.  
In this yll purpose perseuere not, for  
thou doest aduenture the lyfe of vs  
both. Thou damnest thy condicion, and  
destroyest my health, and synally thou  
must come to the medicine. Forgeue me  
dame Matrine, yf I say any malyce to  
the, that is, I know that ye women  
desyre one thyng, and kepe vs in drede,  
that it shoulde not come by hir thought.  
Thou were wont to bee well condicio-  
ned, and at leasse though thou doest  
not put it in bre, yet thou haste the same  
thereof, and an auncient same ought  
not to bee left for a newe unkyndenesse.  
Thou knowest well, what contrarines  
doeth vngentylnesse to the vertues in  
vertuose houses, and thou canste not  
bee called vertuose, but if thou be gen-  
tyll and curteise. There is no grea-  
ter unkyndnesse, thanne to loue hir  
that

that loneth not me, that I bisseth thee,  
 and thou bissett not me, that I speake  
 to the, and thou speakest not to me, is  
 nothyng, that I knowlege the, and thou  
 wilt not know me is nothyng, though  
 I weepe and thou laughe is nothyng,  
 though I demande, and thou denyst is  
 nothyng: though thou owe me, and ne-  
 uer paie, yet it is nothyng, but where as  
 I loue the, and thou not me, is a great  
 thyng. That thyng that can not be dis-  
 simuled with the eyes, nor the hert sus-  
 fer, all the vyces among mortall crea-  
 tures, it is reason that they be forgeuen,  
 because they are commytted by nature,  
 saue onely the vnclouyng of women, and  
 the vnkinderesse of men, whiche are vi-  
 ces committed of malyce. And byuers  
 seruises by me doone to the, and muche  
 more that I haue to doe hereafter, thou  
 Matryne maifest all onely pay me with  
 one thyng, I praise the refuse not to geue  
 me remedy, sith I haue not offered me  
 in the perill. If thou saie, that Patro-  
 clus thy spouse hath the proprietie ouer  
 the, yet at least, receyue me to the profe,  
 and I shall pretende possession of the.  
 And in this wise in the bayngloze to be  
 thyne, shall couer the damage not to bee  
 myne

AVRELIVS.

myrr. Thou makest me to meruaile sore,  
how for so small a mercy and rewarde  
thou canste suffre suche importunitie so  
longe. For certayne many thynges we  
grant to an importunate man, the whiche  
are not granted to a temperate man.  
If thou hopest to ouercomme me by as-  
trine, I holde my selfe vanquished: if  
thou wilt lose me, I holde me losse,  
if thou wilt slea me, I yelde my selfe  
as dead. For by the gesture that I make  
afoze thy gate, and the sighes that I  
make in myne owne house are greatly  
mine to resiste, and the greuous assaults  
of the, be edifices moze to sommon dea-  
the, than to defende the lyfe. If thou  
wilt that I scape this dangier, denye  
me not the remedy, because it shall be  
a greater vyce in the to slea me, than  
willany to geue me remedie. And it were  
no iust thyng for so small a pryce to lose  
the faith of so great seruyce. I wot not  
what to dooe, to make the my debtour,  
and thou to paie me. and yet worste of  
all, I wot not what to dooe, nor what to  
thynke, nor to say, nor to whom to de-  
termyn me, because I can not assure a-  
ny profit in me, but to be certaine in thy  
seruyces. And bycause thou doest trust  
Do him

M A R C V S

him that hath doone this message, by  
him I doe sende this open letter, and my  
secrete answer, I doe send thee a twell  
of perles, and a besand of golde. To the  
goddess I doe commend thee. And I re-  
quyre thee for to receiue it with as good  
a will as I dooe presente it vnto thee.  
Marc oratour to thee right honourable  
Marriane.

**A** letter sente by Marc the Emperours  
to Libia a faire ladie Romain.

**T**he . xix . letter.

**M**arc full of sorow and pensite-  
nes, to the Libia taking but  
littell thought or care: if thy  
smalle thoughte passed any  
thinge on me, & also if my  
troubles & dolours wer lodged & did rest  
in thee, than thou shouldest perceiue and  
see how small the quarrell wer, the whi-  
che I make to thee, in respect of the tur-  
ment that I do suffer, if the blasing fla-  
mes issued out, as the fyrred brondes doe  
brenne me within, the smoke woulde  
reach to the heauens, and make imbres  
of the earth: if thou doest well remembre  
the first tyme that I saw the in the tem-  
ple

AVRELIVS.

ple of the virgins Vestales, thou beyng  
there, praisedst the goddes for thy selfe,  
and I on my knees praised thee for my  
selfe. I know well thou offeredst hony  
and oyle to the goddes, and I offered to  
thee sore wepinges and sighes. It is a  
sult thyng to giue moze to him that of-  
fereth his inwarde entrayles, than to  
hym that draweth money oute of his  
purse to offer. I haue determined and  
disposed me, to writte to the this letter,  
that thou shouldest se how thou art ser-  
ued with the arrowes of mine eyes, that  
were shotte at the white of thy seruices.  
Alas how sorrowfull am I to thynke  
least the calme tyme now, doeth threten  
me with the tempest to come. I wyl say  
that disflour in thee, causeth the hope  
doubtfull in me. Beholde what misad-  
venture, I had losse a letter, and as I  
retourned to the temple to seke for it, I  
had nere lost my selfe, in goyng thither  
so often, considering my small merite.  
I see well, that myne eyes, the ladders  
of my hope, are set on so hie a wal, that  
no lesse is the doubt of my fall, than  
the daunger of the climmyng vp. Thou  
bowynge downe the leaues of thy high  
merites, hast brought me to the poynte

# M A R C V S

of continuall seruice. Let me haue the  
 fruite, and geue the leues to whom thou  
 wylt. By the immortall goddess, I haue  
 great seruail, for surely I thought that  
 in the temple of the virgins Vestals, no  
 man should haue had temptacions. But  
 as now I doe finde by experience, that  
 that woman is more liberall, and soner  
 ouercome, that is fast and straitly kept  
 and watched, than other. All the corpo-  
 rall domages are firste herde of, er they  
 be knowen, and knowen er they be sene  
 and seen er they be felt, and felt, er they  
 be tasted, yet it is not so in loue. For  
 first they feeble the stroke therof, er they  
 se þ way how it cometh. The lightnyng  
 is not so sodeinly, but it is sente afoze the  
 thunder clappe, nor the wall falleth not  
 so sodeinly, but first some stones breake  
 a sunder, nor the cold cometh not so fast  
 on, but some small shiuerynges cometh  
 before: but alonly loue is not felt til it be  
 settled in the entrayles, Let suery man  
 know it that know it not, and thou la-  
 dy Libie, if thou wilt, know: Loue sle-  
 peth whan we wake, & waketh whan  
 we slepe, and laugheth whan we wepe  
 and weepeth whan we laugh: it assu-  
 reth in takyng, and taketh in assuryng:  
 And

AVRELIVS.

And speaketh whan we be still, and so  
still whan we speake: And finally it  
is of that condicion, that for to geue  
vs that we desyre, it causeth vs to lyue  
in payne. I sweare to thee: whan my  
wyl became thy seruauant, and thy be-  
autie caused, that thou were my ladie,  
whan I was in the temple, and retour-  
ned agayne thither, not desyringe thee,  
thou beheldest me, and I as unhappie  
looked on thee. But what a thought  
came to me, that my hert beyng whole,  
thou haste deuided, beyng in healtie,  
thou hast hurte, beyng alpye thou hast  
slayne, beyng mine, thou haste sto-  
len it, and that woorst of all is, not  
healpyng to my lyfe, thou consentest  
that loue assayle me to the death. Ma-  
ny tymes ladie Libia, considering that  
al my thoughtes been high, and my for-  
tune lowe, I would haue separate my  
selfe fro the. But considering that my  
trauailes are well applied in thy seruiz-  
es, I say though I mighte, I wyl not  
be separte fro thee. I will not deny one  
thyng, and that is, that cursed loue ta-  
keth away the taste of all thynges, and  
yet therby alonely it geueth vs appetite  
the which geueth vs much yll profite.



# MARCVS

This is the prooofe of him that loneth  
 hertily. For one diffauour of him that  
 is beloued, is moze than all the fauour  
 of this lyfe. I thynke lady Libia, thou  
 art greatly abashed to fee me outwarde  
 as a philofopher, and to know me in-  
 warde a fecrets louer. I pray the Libia  
 • difcouer me not: For if that the goddes  
 giue me longe life, I am mynded for to  
 amende. And though I be at this houre  
 but a yong foole in the art of loue, whā  
 I am olde, I ſhall be wiſe: the Gods  
 know what I deſyre, and the force  
 that I dooe enforce me to: but as the  
 fleſhe is weake, and the hert tender,  
 and hath many occasions and few ver-  
 tues, and the worlde ſubtyll, and the  
 people malicious, I paſſe thys begyn-  
 nyng and ſpyng of flowers, with hope  
 that in harueſt I ſhal haue ſome fruite.  
 Dame Libia, dooeſt thou thynke, that  
 philoſophers, though they were neuer  
 ſo ſage, be not ſtriken with cruelties  
 of loue: and that vnder their courſe  
 clothes, they? fleſhe is not ſmoth: Cer-  
 teinly among the harde bones ſoft fleſh  
 is bredde, vnder the ſharpe buſkes the  
 cheſtnutte is nourished. I ſay, that  
 vnder courſe apparayle is trew and  
 perfit

# AVRELIUS.

perſyte loue. I deny not, but that our  
 ſlacke nature reſiſteth not with ver-  
 tues: nor I deny not, but there be yong  
 wanton deſyres not expreſſed with ver-  
 tuous purpoſes: I deny not, but that  
 the bytte of youthe is not refrayned  
 with the byddell of reaſon, I deny not,  
 but that that the fleſhe procureth, is di-  
 uers tymes wythſtande by wyſedome.  
 And alſo I knowledge well, that he  
 that is not amorous, is a foole.  
 And thou knoweſt, that though we bee  
 wiſe, we leaue not therfore to bee men.  
 All that euer we learne in all our lyues  
 ſuffiſeth not to knowe howe to rule the  
 fleſhe one howe. To wyſe men in this  
 caſe hath fallen many errors: there bee  
 many maſters in vertues, and many  
 mo hath bene, and yet they haue bene  
 ouercome with bytes: wherfore than  
 dooeſt thou meruayle of me alone? I  
 confeſſe of trouth, that I hadde neuer  
 myne vnderſtandynge ſo clere, as when  
 Cupide fanned winde on me with his  
 wynges. There was neuer none vnto  
 my tyme, that euer was noted wyſe,  
 but firſt he was a priſoner, & bound with  
 the loue of Cupide. Gracian was amo-  
 rous on Tamyꝝ: Solon & Alamyꝝ geuer  
 Do ill of

# MARCVS

of the lawes, was amorous of Greti-  
ane: Pitacus Mitelenus left his owne  
wyfe, and was enamoured of a bonde  
woman, that he brought from the war-  
res. Cleobulus of Caria whan he was  
ful three score and ten yere olde, and had  
redde Philosophie fivie and fortie yere,  
scalyng the house of his neighbour, fell  
of the ladder and died. Versander prince  
of Acaye, and a greate Philosophier of  
Grece, at the praiser of one of his louers  
slew his wyfe. Anacharsis a Philoso-  
pher, a Scythian of his fathers syde, and  
a Greke of his mothers syde, was so e-  
namoured of a woman of Thebes, that  
he taught hir all his cunying: and whan  
he was sicke in his bedde, she red in the  
schoole for hym. Epimenides of Crete,  
that slept .xv. yeres without wakyng,  
and though he was tenne yere a great  
worshipper of the goddes, yet he was  
banysshed from Athenes for the loue of  
women. Archita Tarentyne, maister of  
Plato, and disciple of Pythagoras,  
occupied his mynde more to invent the  
kyndes of loue, than his forces in do-  
ctrines of vertues. Gorgio Cleontino,  
borne in Sicile, kepte rather concubi-  
nes in his chamber, than bookes in the  
schooles

AVRELIVS.

schooles. All these were wise men, and yet we maie see, how at the laste they were overcome with the fleshe.

¶ Than blame not me alone: for as I haue tolde of so fewe in noubre, so I coulde recite of other a holle arme. Of trouth he ought to haue many thynges, that will be taken as curious in loue. He must haue his eien displayed on hir that he loueth, his vnderstandyng sore altered in that he thynketh, his tongue troubled in that he should saie: So that in seying he be blynd, in thoughtes wandering, and in speakyng troubled. O ladsie Libia, the lounge in mockery passeth by mockerie: but where as the true heart is, there is the greefe and no mockerie. Loue shedeth hir popson, and cruell Cupido fireth his arrowes vp to the feathers. Than the euen weepe, the heart sigheth, the fleshe trembleth, the synewes thynke, the vnderstandyng wareth grosse, reason fayleth, and so all falleth to the earth, so that synally the heauy louer abidyng in him selfe, holdeth littell or nothyng of hym selfe. All this I saie, because that knowlage to loue fayleth in me: yet bee ye sure that the woozkes fayle me not to woozke in

Do v

thy

# MARCVS

thy scruples. And syth it was myne  
aduenture to see thee, nowe it is my  
chaunce to knowe the, I demaunde no-  
thyng elles of the, but that thou wylte  
loue me truly, syth I loue the with-  
out saynyng, And if thou haste harde  
that I am sicke at my herte, I desyre  
the to doe me some good: for sythe it  
is al only in thee, it is reason, that thou  
all only seke for remedy. I was great-  
ly comforted, whan Fabius Carlynus  
desyred me in thy behalfe to bee a pry-  
soner, and I did incontinente all that  
thou diddest desyre, to the intent that  
thou on some date thouldest dooe that I  
desyre. And beholde lady Iybba, the  
women that is serued with scruples, it  
is reason that she receiue some prayers.  
And though my strengthes haue no  
power to open the gates of thy pour-  
pose, as not to agre to the demaunde,  
yet all my labours bee because of thy  
renowme. I praise the discover not the  
one, nor beguyle me not with the other  
for now thou seest, that in grauntynge  
is remedye, and in truste is comforte,  
but promise is deceiuable, and delai-  
nyng is perillous, and the intreatynge  
byndeth. I see veray well, that the  
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AVRELIVS.

hasty demaunde, deserueth a long answer: but I would that thou shouldst doo so: but as I desyre thee, so desyre me. I say agayne, I am all thyne, and not myne owne. And as for my selfe in all thynges I will serue thee.

And lady Lybia, regarde that it were as muche honour for thee, as profitable for me, to tourne thy disordinate desyres and purpose. For thou seest wel it is muche better to heale shortly than to late with faylyng of thy purpose.

All women kepe one dangerous opinion, that is, they will neuer receyue counsell that is gyuen them in a greates cause: and if it be so, as I thinke, syth thou art praysed and esteemed of great beautie, than vse esteemed to receyue good counsell. And in this maner in case that my damage be very greates, and thy patience very littell, I shall be called wyse to geue the such counsell, and thou right gracions to folow it.

One thyng I say, and pardone me, though I shew it to thee, how that women bee greatly infamed, that wyll take no counsell, and such as wyll assure theyr renowne by the opinion of other, as muche as though they were  
 Deter.

# MARCVS

determined so to doe theyr selfe. Where  
 fore I would ye should do one thyng for  
 an other, as I counsaile you. And if thou  
 findest any yll therby, withdraue thy  
 hande. I wyll say no more to thee, but  
 that I do present to thee all my unhap-  
 pie troubles, my desperate sighes, and  
 my seruices as thy seruaunt: My trou-  
 bled dolours, my woordes of philoso-  
 phie, and my amorous teares. Also I  
 send thee a girdell of golde, and I geue  
 it thee on the condicion, that thou sette  
 thine eyes theron, and apply thy hearte  
 to me. I pray the goddes to giue me to  
 thee, and thee to me. Marcus Aurelius  
 the philosopher, writeth this in veray  
 great secretes.

¶ Thus endeth the Golden booke of  
 the eloquent Marke Aurelie emperour:  
 who so euer be reader therof may take  
 it by reason, for a riche and a new la-  
 bour, and specially princes and gover-  
 nours of the common wealth, and my-  
 nisters of Iustice, with other. Also the  
 common people eche of them may finde  
 the labour conuenient to theyr estate.  
 And therein is conteigned certayn right  
 highe and profounde sentences, and  
 holisome counsailes, and meruailous  
 deuils

# AVRELIVS.

deuices agaynst the encumbzaunce of  
 fortune: and right swete consolacions  
 for them that are ouerthrowen by for-  
 tune. Finally it is good to them that di-  
 gesse it, and thanke god that hath gy-  
 uen such grace to a paynym in geuyng  
 vs example of vertuous liuyng, with  
 his and salutary doctrines, and mar-  
 uaylous instructions of perfectnes. Cer-  
 taynly as greate pzeple as ought to be  
 geuen to the auctour, is to be ginen to  
 the translatours, that haue laboriously  
 reduced this treatise out of Greeke in-  
 to Latine, and out of Latine into Casti-  
 lian, and out of Castilian into Frenche  
 and out of French into English, wri-  
 ten in high and swete styles. O right hap-  
 py trauayle, sith that suche fruite is is-  
 sued therof. And also blessed bee the  
 handes that haue wriitten it. A ryght  
 precious meate is the sentences of this  
 booke: But finally the sauce of the saied  
 swete style moueth the appetite. Ma-  
 ny bookes there be of substantiall mea-  
 tes, but they be so rude and so vn-  
 saue-ry, and the style of so small grace, that  
 the fyrst morcell is lothsome and noy-  
 full: And of suche bookes foloweth to  
 lie hole and sounde in Lybraries, but  
 I trust



M A R C V S.

I truste this will not. Of trouth greates  
praple is due to the auctour of his tra-  
uayle. And sith there can be no grace  
equipolent in earthe, let vs pray to god  
to geue hym grace and rewarde in hea-  
uen. Amen. Graces to God.

F I N I S.

Thus endeth the volume of Marke  
Aurelie, Emperour, other wise called  
the golden booke, translated oute of  
frenche into Englishe by John Bour-  
chier knight lord Barners, deputie ge-  
nerall of the kinges towne of Caleis and  
marthes of the same, at the instaunt  
desire of his neuew sir Fraunces  
Byran knight, ended at Caleis  
the tenth day of Marche, in  
the yere of the reigne of our  
souerayne lord Kyng  
Henry the eyght  
the fowre and  
twentie.



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